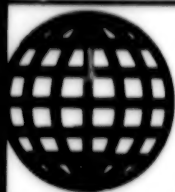


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JPRS Report

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-90-025

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8 May 1990

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Results of 1989 All-Union Census Published

Republic Population Figures

90UN1227A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 11, 17-23 Mar 90 p 7

[Unattributed article: "On Results of the All-Union Population Census"]

[Text] On January 12, 1989, the total population of the USSR was 286,731,000. Compared to 1979, it grew by 24.3 million, or 9 percent.

In the 1979-88 period, the population increased in all union republics, but there were considerable differences in growth rates among the country's regions:

| Percent, 1989 over 1979 | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| USSR | 109 |
| RSFSR | 107 |
| Ukrainian SSR | 104 |
| Belorussian SSR | 106 |
| Uzbek SSR | 129 |
| Kazakh SSR | 112 |
| Georgian SSR | 108 |
| Azerbaijan SSR | 117 |
| Lithuanian SSR | 108 |
| Moldavian SSR | 110 |
| Latvian SSR | 107 |
| Kirghiz SSR | 121 |
| Tajik SSR | 134 |
| Armenian SSR | 109 |
| Turkmen SSR | 127 |
| Estonian SSR | 107 |

The main reason for this is natural population growth.

Urban population grew 25.2 million in 10 years, or 15.4 percent. The share of city dwellers in the total population rose from 62 percent in 1979 to 66 percent in 1989. The most urbanized of the union republics are the RSFSR (74 percent), the Estonian SSR (72 percent) and the Latvian SSR (71 percent). Meanwhile, in the Central Asian republics and the Moldavian SSR, less than one half of residents, ranging from 33 percent to 47 percent, live in cities. Moreover, thanks to high birth rates in rural areas, the share of urban population has declined since 1979 in the Turkmen SSR, the Kirghiz SSR and the Tajik SSR.

Rural population fell in the 1980s by 0.9 million, or 0.9 percent. The main reason for this is migratory outflow to the cities. In the 1970-78 period it amounted to an

average of 1.5 million a year. In the period between censuses, outflow fell to 900,000 a year.

Age Distribution of Permanent Residents

| | Population, Millions | | 1989/1979 (Percent) |
|-------------------|----------------------|-------|------------------------|
| | 1979 | 1989 | |
| Total | 262.1 | 285.7 | 109.0 |
| 0-9 yrs | 44.0 | 51.0 | 115.9 |
| 10-19 yrs | 45.7 | 43.8 | 96.0 |
| 20-29 yrs | 45.2 | 44.8 | 99.1 |
| 30-39 yrs | 30.3 | 44.3 | 146.4 |
| 40-49 yrs | 35.6 | 28.7 | 80.7 |
| 50-59 yrs | 27.5 | 32.4 | 117.9 |
| 60-69 yrs | 18.5 | 23.3 | 125.5 |
| 70-79 yrs | 11.7 | 12.3 | 105.3 |
| 80 yrs and over | 3.5 | 5.0 | 140.6 |
| Below working age | 69.6 | 77.9 | 111.9 |
| Working age | 151.9 | 158.9 | 104.6 |
| Above working age | 40.5 | 48.8 | 120.5 |

The current age structure reflects past trends in natural population increase, i.e., birth rates. World War II had a strong impact on these: it not only killed millions but also caused birth rates to fall both during the war years and in those years when women born during the war and their daughters reached active child bearing age. Generally, this is the cause of differing increases (or decreases) for different age groups between 1979 and 1989.

In the past 10 years, the increase of working age population (men aged 16-to-59 years and women 16-to-54 years) amounted to just 7 million, including almost 5 million (or some 70 percent) in the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan. Over 25 million out of a total of 159 million working age people in the country overall live there.

In the 1980s the population continued to age. The number of people in the above-working-age group rose during that period by 21 percent, compared to just 9 percent for the population as a whole. This group makes up 17 percent of the total population, including 19-to-21 percent in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic, and 8-to-10 percent in the Central Asian republics.

There are 134.7 million men in the population, or 47.1 percent, and 151 million women, or 52.9 percent. While in 1979 there were 869 men per 1,000 women, in 1989 there were 892. The predominance of women starts on average in the 30 age group and stems from higher mortality rates among men.

Moscow Population Figures

90UN1227B Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 27 Feb 90 p 2

[Article by G.Borisova: "Moscow in the Mirror of Statistics: There Are Over 9 Million of Us"]

[Text] A reference book recently issued by the Moscow City Committee for Statistics is titled "Results of the 1989 All-Union Population Census in the City of Moscow".

Do you remember census workers who came to our doors with their census lists? Special technology was developed to tabulate the results of that census, based on which the Ministry of the Radio Industry produced some 300 optic scanning devices. Every census form was processed by machine and then all the information was gathered at the Main Computing Center of the USSR State Committee for Statistics.

The population of Moscow grew 818,000 in 10 years. The annual increase in numbers was due to mechanical growth—the difference between the number of newcomers and of those who left it.

In 1983 a trend toward higher birth rates emerged. While in 1970 there were 11.8 births per 1,000 people, in 1983 there were 14.5 births. At the time, the state implemented a number of measures to increase assistance to families with dependent children. But starting in 1988, birth rates began to fall once more. In 1989, the birth rate was 10 percent lower than in 1988.

There was a natural population decrease of 4,700 people in 1989, for the first time. This meant that more people died than were born.

"There is another interesting trend," said Z.Ksenofontova, deputy director of the Moscow City Committee

for Statistics. "It is the leveling off in the imbalance between men and women, even though the imbalance in favor of women remains great. In terms of percentages, the picture is as follows: there are now 55 percent of women and 45 percent of men. But 30 years ago, for instance, 43 percent were men and 57 percent women. And one more point: the number of women who consider themselves married surpasses that of men. Clearly, those numbers ought to be identical, but we do not ask to see a person's passport when we conduct the census."

Representatives of over 100 nationalities live in the capital. Moscow currently consists of 32 rayons, the city of Zelenograd and 4 urban settlements: Nekrasovka, Rublevo, Vnukovo and Vostochnyy, as well as the Tolstopaltsevo village soviet. The census also revealed the rate of employment among the working age population, the number of retirees and young people and sources of incomes.

"Muscovites make up 3.1 percent of the total population of the USSR," said S.Bushev, director of the Main Computing Center of the USSR State Committee for Statistics. "This is why results of the census will be processed for a full year, with machines working on a round-the-clock schedule. I would not like to see the results of this work go to waste. The outcome of the census in Moscow, and not only in Moscow, should change the very structure of planning. It must be based not on per capita steel production figures but on human wants and a final product sufficient to ensure a minimum living standard for one person. Using the results of the census, we could plan how many shoes, clothing items or hospital beds we need."

Anyone interested in the results of the census in Moscow can purchase the book at the Moscow City Committee for Statistics headquarters, even though at R50, it is not inexpensive. Finally, the last number: Moscow currently has over 9 million residents.

Candidate Deputies Seek New RSFSR Elections

90UN1404C Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian No 12, 23 Mar 90 p 15

[Letter from B.I. Iskakov, et al, under the rubric "Tracking the Elections to the Soviets: The Grimaces of Democracy": "Letter From Candidates for People's Deputy"]

[Text] The editorial board of LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA received a copy of this letter to V.I. Kazakov, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Central Electoral Commission, and to the Moscow City Electoral Commission and the district and precinct electoral commissions of the city of Moscow. Copies were also sent to USSR President M.S. Gorbachev; V.I. Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A.V. Vlasov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; M.F. Nenashev, chairman of USSR Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting]; ministries and departments of the USSR and RSFSR; and the editorial boards of newspapers and journals.

In part it says in the letter:

"We, candidates for people's deputy of the RSFSR and the Moscow Soviet, register a strong protest against the mass, gross violations of the RSFSR Law on Elections tolerated by supporters of the so-called 'Democratic Russia' bloc, the Interregional Group of Deputies, the Moscow Association of Voters, and the 'Democratic Union' and by others on election day, 4 March 1990. These violations took the form of instances of gross agitation and pressure on the voters on election day at the electoral precincts, control over how the voters expressed their will, manipulation of the ballots on the part of several members of the commissions of the electoral precincts, and the distribution of leaflets with slanderous fabrications in reference to political opponents.

"Among the leaders of the aforementioned movements, there are supporters of a plutocracy, the black market, the mafia, and of other destructive forces which have entered into a political union in a frenzied struggle to seize power in order to wrest it from the bureaucracy (the administrative and command system) and not allow the laboring masses, workers, peasants, and the working intelligentsia, that is, supporters of a genuine socialist democracy, access to it.

"Because of great inadequacies in their work, the electoral commissions of Moscow did not provide for sufficient glasnost in the conduct of the electoral campaign and of the elections themselves. Tens of thousands of refugees from the Transcaucasus were not admitted to the elections. Articles 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 13, and 31 of the RSFSR Law on Elections were violated."

The letter contains demands:

"—To annul the falsified results of the 4 March 1990 elections and consider them as not having taken place.

"—To designate and hold new, objective elections with exact observation of the RSFSR Law on Elections.

"—Replace the staff of the precinct electoral commissions (UIK), which have compromised themselves.

"—Introduce numbering of the ballots in order to rule out or at least render more difficult the potential opportunity to manipulate them at the precinct electoral commissions (each voter has the right to know the number of the ballots given to him in order to have the opportunity later to see whether his choice of candidate was misrepresented or whether his ballots were replaced during the evening and night count of the votes at the precinct electoral commissions).

"—distribute the ballots on election day according to a list of voters, not by a formal check-off procedure, in order to rule out the potential opportunity to manipulate the votes of absent voters on election day or during the night count of ballots.

"—When the votes are being counted at the precinct electoral commissions, to make up a list of the numbers of ballots handed out indicating which candidates were chosen for each genuine ballot that was used in order to rule out the potential opportunity to replace ballots when they are being counted (each voter should have the right and the opportunity to later verify his number and the candidates he has chosen by precinct electoral commissions lists)."

Later in the letter it says:

"We ask the organs of the Procuracy of the USSR and the RSFSR to examine the issue of violations on 4 March 1990 of the Russian Law on Elections as part of their system of prosecutorial oversight.

"We, Soviet patriots, feel great concern and alarm at this latest step for the fate of the homeland, socialism, and the Soviet working people in connection with the debauch of destructive mafia forces in the USSR blatantly defying all human laws in the struggle to seize power under the conditions of confusion and the helplessness of the Soviet leadership in the face of the possible treachery of some of its members...

"The mass of instances proves that the 4 March 1990 elections took place outside democratic guidelines... To uphold our demands is to uphold the health of perestroika, the Constitution of our country, the interests of the Soviet people, and socialist law."

The letter was signed by candidates for people's deputy of the RSFSR and the Moscow Soviet: B.I. Iskakov, doctor of economic sciences; G.I. Litvinova, doctor of legal sciences; V.G. Bryusova, doctor of art criticism; R.I. Kosolapov, doctor of philosophical sciences; A.A. Sergeyev, doctor of economic sciences; S.A. Chibiryayev, doctor of legal sciences; V.L. Chepurenskiy, candidate of economic sciences; V.I. Novikov, director of the "Sovetskaya Rossiya" publishing house; A.I. Kazintsev, assistant chief editor of the journal NASH SOVREMENNİK; the

writers T.A. Ponomareva, S.Yu. Rybas, and S.A. Lykoshin; and 24 more candidates for people's deputy of the RSFSR and the Moscow Soviet.

Moscow Mayoral 'Candidates' Interviewed

90UN140A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 14, 4 Apr 90 p 2

[Article by Ye. Domnysheva: "The Moscow Soviet: Vacancies at the Helm"]

[Text] "Too many problems." "The new authority does not intend to joke around." "A city for the people."

Moscow will learn the name of its new mayor and chairman of the Moscow Soviet in the third week of April. For now we can only surmise who will stand at the head of that most complex organism which is the capital. Various names are mentioned, but one most frequently hears Bryachikhin, Popov, Prokofyev, Saykin, and Stankevich. Our correspondent met with three of them. We decided to propose that they try to address these positions.

Thus, five questions to the potential aspirants:

1. You are one of those whom the voters see in the position of chairman of the Moscow Soviet or the Moscow gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee]. Which position would you prefer for yourself?
2. What are your strategy and tactics for the coming work?
3. What is the main action of your program?
4. What are your first steps as mayor or chairman?
5. What are your strong and weak points?

Saykin, Valeriy Timoveyevich, 53 years old. Native of Moscow. Career path: From worker to general director of ZIL [Moscow Automobile Plant imeni I.A. Likhachev]. Since 1986—chairman of the Moscow Soviet executive committee.

1. I do not see myself as chairman of the Moscow Soviet. If I run, then it will be for chairman of the Moscow gorispolkom.

2. There are too many problems in the city. They have come into existence and accumulated from one year to the next. It is very difficult to solve them in a short time. Therefore I would pick out the most urgent areas where maximum effort should be applied. Issues of housing, the supply of goods to residents, and improving the city need attention in particular.

3. I consider solving problems of housing construction in Moscow the most important task. A shortage of construction materials and workers, the low level of mechanization of construction, and poor quality—today all of these are some of the causes for people's bitter dissatisfaction with social issues, and they are right to be dissatisfied.

4. I would start with housing...

5. Weak point... Perhaps I have put off my acquaintance with Moscow's huge economy too long. I have studied it only now, toward the end of my activities. Another weak point is that I have relied upon myself too much when solving problems. As for strong points, I have a great desire to inquire into all the questions and problems of the city's development.

Bryachikhin: Aleksey Mikheyevich, 48 years old. Three years ago he headed the Sevastopol party raykom [rayon committee], and he is now known beyond the borders of Moscow as well for his new forms of work with the population and the informal associations. Out of the 14 workers in the raykom's party apparat, 11 were nominated and elected deputy by the residents of the rayon, including the first secretary.

1. I can justify both positions. Although no one has proposed anything of the sort.

2. The main thing is that Moscow's status be determined: Rights, duties, functions, and positions in order to exclude rule by dictate by the ministries and departments. Without that there will not be any serious changes. For the time being the Moscow Soviet has almost no rights in Moscow and it passes decisions which are not carried out. I believe it is necessary to create a new structure for administering the city's economy, because the old one is ineffective.

3. It is very important to complete the formation of a full-fledged body of deputies as quickly as possible. We must learn how to hear and take into account the opinion of everyone, including the minority.

We must occupy ourselves with a general plan for the capital based on a new structure of administration. Moscow can no longer develop as an industrial center. We have already crossed the boundary of what is reasonable. The way out is to decrease the industrial potential.

4. I will enter the office..

5. My weak points are, perhaps, my emotions and impatience. I do not like it at all when we have agreed on something and it does not take place. My strong points are professionalism and competency and I am a candidate of economic sciences, but I do not just know life from books. I believe one of my main features is obligation. I do not like chatters, and I try to maintain the principle of pay according to work. They say that I am a difficult but dependable boss.

Stankevich, Sergey Borisovich. 1954. USSR people's deputy. Candidate of historical sciences. Senior scientific associate at the Institute of General History of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Active participant in the democratic movement.

1. Moscow Soviet, probably...

2. A new generation of politicians has come to the Moscow Soviet: A "party of malcontents" has won, as the joke goes in the CPSU Moscow gorkom [city party committee]. Finally there is a chance to let citizens learn the difference between apparat administration and democratic administration. The democratic majority of the Moscow Soviet is making the transition from propaganda through slogans to victory through results.

Of course it is impossible to "build" an efficient and philanthropic economy in one city individually taken over by democrats. But we can and must stop the increasing devastation that threatens us. In particular, we are getting ready to insist that perestroika laws passed by the Union and republic parliaments work at the local city level too.

The new authority does not intend to joke around—it will get what it wants—although it does not intend to lose its sense of humor either.

3. Among the chief actions of our program is an attempt to seriously improve the housing situation. With the help of the public we intend to conduct a general inventory of the capital's residential and nonresidential resources: We will uncover lodgings that are being concealed from the accounts, those that are uninhabited, and those that are used inefficiently or illegally. We will reduce to a minimum any industrial construction in the city, and we will concentrate as much of the construction industry's capacity as we can on equipping and repairing housing and building schools, clinics, stores, and kindergartens.

The main principle for all our activity is: A city for the people.

4. One of our first steps will be the creation of a Moscow bank of reconstruction and development. For Moscow, perestroika must have a firm financial base. Simultaneously we need to regroup and retrain the cadres: We need qualified managers.

5. My strong points are realism, persistence, and personal democracy. My weak points are my emotions, enthusiasm, trustfulness, and a chronic lack of sleep.

Aspirants to Moscow Soviet Posts Named

90UN1507A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian No 15, 14 Apr 90 p 2

[Report on press conference at Moscow Soviet by A. Shishov; date not given: "Moscow Awaits a Mayor"]

[Text] A sudden renovation of the bodies of deputies in Moscow and Leningrad has given birth to many hopes, conversations, and suggestions.

A press conference took place on the eve of the first session in the well-known building of the Moscow Soviet.

Taking part in the press conference were members of the organizational committee of the upcoming session,

members of the organizational groups, and representatives of the deputies' blocs—"Democratic Russia," "Moscow," the bloc of independent candidates, and "Fatherland."

The press conference began with a statement by A. Pankin, deputy and leader of the press group of the organizational committee. He called upon all mass media to report more calmly and objectively on the complex processes occurring presently in the Moscow Soviet with regard to the arrival of new people.

Inasmuch as the "Democratic Russia" bloc has a parliamentary majority in the new Moscow Soviet, most of the questions were directed at representatives of this bloc. Naturally the journalists were primarily interested in whom this bloc will nominate for the post of chairman of the Moscow Soviet and his deputy. Two aspirants were named: For the position of chairman of the Moscow Soviet—Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov, and for the post of his deputy—Sergey Borisovich Stankevich.

Frankly, the press conference evoked an ambiguous feeling. On one hand, almost all the speakers spoke about the need to forget discord and unite to resolve Moscow's most difficult problems; but it was the rare speaker who refrained from making some sort of accusation against representatives of the other blocs. Against the background of the numerous reproaches, the position of the representatives of the "Democratic Russia" bloc seemed the most constructive and confident.

The session promises to be most interesting...

Deputies Speak at Leningrad Joint Plenum

90UN1267A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 24 Feb 90 pp 2, 3

[Unattributed report on speeches at joint plenum of Leningrad Obkom and Gorkom: "For Consolidation and Unity of Party Ranks"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

Yu.A. Petrosyan, head of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Orientology of the USSR Academy of Sciences

I asked to speak at our plenum and I wish to take advantage of the opportunity granted me to express my position regarding interethnic problems that have become quite critical recently, both unionwide and, alas, unfortunately, now here in Leningrad as well.

The CPSU Platform on the nationalities policy was made public last autumn. Much that was directed toward reconciling interethnic relations in our union state was accumulated in this document. The platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the party congress confirmed the main points of this document. But, unfortunately, I must state that in the main, fundamental question, the question of the relationship between union-wide and republic sovereignty, there is still much that remains unclear and contradictory. In particular, the

rights of the Union and the republics have been declared in such a way that they make it possible for the Union organs of power and the still powerful departments to interpret their rights fairly arbitrarily and broadly.

The events of past months have pushed the creators of the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress toward a more reasonable and defined attitude toward the question of the union treaty. This is a step forward but it is still unclear what will be the "development of the treaty principle for the structuring of the Union."

And in the current situation general discussions of "new approaches" and "constitutional guarantees" satisfy far from everyone. I am very sorry that in the Central Committee platform on the nationalities policy and in today's draft which was submitted to the plenum I did not find a clear statement about the most rapid conclusion of a new union treaty although I am convinced of the need for this and have been speaking about it for more than a year now. Let each republic even today, in the modern situation, as a voluntary act transfer some of its sovereign rights to the union organs of power.

In the Central Committee document on the nationalities problem which was published at the end of last year the question of the union treaty was simply replaced by the question of the Declaration of the USSR. Possibly this could be explained by an understandable fear—of exacerbating the situation with respect to the nationalities issue at such a difficult moment by deciding on radical measures. But there is a great danger: These are half-measures. The events of recent months have shown this clearly. The new union treaty, the discussion and preparation of which should begin as soon as possible will also make it possible to create a new system of union federalism which could satisfy the republics. Here we should not categorically reject elements of a confederative state structure. In any case it is clear that a number of republics are fairly equivocal about this.

As concerns the numerous ethnic conflicts that are literally shaking the country, their rapid growth and the expansion of their scale are explained, of course, not only by certain ethnic aspects. They are largely linked to the continuing economic absurdity of our lives. I shall not go so far as to state that improvement of the country's economic situation will make it possible to solve all ethnic problems but it is obvious to me that this could considerably ease the situation and create conditions for a peaceful search for compromise political solutions.

For it is no accident that recently, literally in the last few days, in the Supreme Soviet a number of deputies have been more and more persistently calling for acceleration of the new law on the federation, emphasizing that interethnic problems have now become the main ones for the country. And indeed how can our economy develop normally under conditions that are similar to civil war in a number of places, when a large share of the

enterprises, transportation, and communications are in disarray because of mass interethnic disturbances.

I also wish to express my opinion about the situation in ethnic relations in our city. In the past few days I have had occasion to meet with dozens of people representing various social and ethnic groups. I have spoken with ethnographers, sociologists, and specialists in problems like this about the situation that has developed in the city with respect to questions of interethnic relations. I have also had occasion to speak with certain representatives of law enforcement organs of the city. All this in addition to a certain amount of experience in my professional and daily life, it seems to me, enables me to make certain judgments about problems bothering the city residents as well.

When thinking about the numerous interethnic conflicts in various regions of our country I constantly ask myself the same question: Where did all this begin? And each time I answer: In the beginning was the word. Initially for years the intelligentsia in various countries "divided up" the past from various sides, battling it out on the field of historical geography and the history of culture. As time passed it became worse and changed into individuals arguing, and from here it was not far to generalizations as well. A large number of people were gradually drawn into this and they did not notice how it changed from "ideological" polemics to mutual insults on national honor and dignity. Unfortunately, not everyone is aware of how all this ended in a number of regions of the country.

I do not want to believe that anything similar might happen here in Leningrad—one of the most cultured cities not only in our country but in the world. Yet an ideological confrontation along "national lines" is already in evidence. Also in evidence are signs of changing over to insults against national honor and dignity. And God forbid that in the heat of national passions we cross that fatal mark beyond which lies violence, that is, that we cross over the boundary of being human. There is a danger of this, the more so since the signs of it continue to multiply throughout our long-suffering country.

If we look at our interethnic problems here in Leningrad from this point of view, it is obvious—I should like to focus the attention of the participants in the plenum on this—that a superficial approach to them, an unwillingness to understand the possible danger of changing from words to actions, is absolutely unforgivable. Anti-Semitism inflamed from various sides by various forces with various ideals, on the one hand, or a disrespectful attitude toward the Russian people, their traditions and culture, on the other—these, in my view, comprise one of the most dangerous detonators of possible social unrest in the city.

It is clear to everyone that the continuous deterioration of the material situation of the Leningraders and the endless difficulties experienced by the people in daily life

have put considerable masses of people in a condition of social tension and irritation so that any meaningless incident having to do with ethnic feelings can, as I have already said, detonate and significantly worsen the socio-political situation.

Yet it is no secret to anyone that for a long time semilegal publications and leaflets that are anti-Soviet in form, and to a certain degree anti-Semitic in essence, have been disseminated among the city's residents on behalf of various "Russian national- patriotic" groups. It is difficult, of course, to determine who and what lies behind confused waves of rumors about possible direct conflicts on an interethnic basis which have literally overwhelmed the city in recent weeks. But it is obvious to me that the form of samizdat I have just been speaking about has worked well on those forces which provoked dangerous rumors and waves of unrest among the residents of the city.

I should like to mention one thing especially. Observing the growth of national movements in the union republics, we should have expected the appearance of a Russian national movement long ago. And it already exists. Yet its vulnerability in a certain sense is apparent. For the largest nation, which at one time united other peoples of the country, in the current situation can always be accused of great power chauvinism. Does this mean that we need not listen with real attention and understanding to the voice of Russians thinking about the fate of Russia itself and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]? Of course not. Of course such reflections should not be based on national antagonisms. But in this connection I should like to remind you of the immense sacrifices made primarily by Russians at the altar of the social and political freedoms proclaimed but only partially realized by the revolution. One forgets, unfortunately, how much Russia did after the revolution to advance the culture of the previously oppressed people and develop the economies of the republics.

We are speaking today about unusually difficult things and sometimes we simply become bitter in our souls. But still I think the 43 years I have lived in our remarkable city give me every reason for optimism, even in the difficult situation that has developed. I believe the Leningraders have enough spiritual strength, intelligence, and character so that our city's glorious history will never be clouded by anything.

I believe that the press, radio, and television, recognizing their responsibility, can and should do everything in their power not to impose on citizens the stereotype of national antagonism as though it had already developed and was determining our life. This can be refuted by a mass of real examples of friendly work by a multitude of multinational labor collectives and numerous examples of real comradeship and real human benevolence of Leningraders of the most diverse nationalities at the everyday level. And in any case the press, radio, and

television should and can refrain absolutely from emotional generalizations when depicting various negative phenomena.

Our multinational country has a difficult path behind it. But I believe we must all protect our common better future. For no creation is possible without faith.

[Passage omitted]

Yu.N. Burchakov, first secretary of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] obkom

When discussing the results of the plenum of the party Central Committee one should probably begin with the time factor. Even a half year ago the appearance of the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the congress could have been regarded as a truly bold and powerful step on the path to democratization of the party and our entire society. But today this document is merely a necessary responsive reaction to the insistent demand from below from the rank-and-file communists. From those who have no faith in the old makeup of electoral party organs and the activities of which there are many examples in our country. From those who have ceased to believe blindly in the authority of the very party that developed perestroika but now is not keeping up with the processes in society by moving from verbal declarations to immediate actions. That which was considered seditious yesterday is now being discussed openly and heard in the speeches from the highest tribunals.

But, unfortunately, the time has passed, and the extent to which the party and its Central Committee lag behind life, having become accustomed to closing the barn door after the horse has run away, in many cases explains the indifference to the new document of the CPSU Central Committee. And this already exists, at least among youth. The content of the draft platform undoubtedly leads to this as well. Sometimes it gives only individual lines, something like sketches of the earmarked transformations. One can see both the erosion of the goals the party was supposed to reach, including by the 28th Congress, and the lack of responses to the main questions of the present day.

The same question concerning the essence of socialism and the modern understanding of it has remained, in my opinion, unexplored. And no epithets will help here. For example, the most diametrically opposed political forces in society are now being called to humane democratic socialism packaged in various ways. Under these conditions it is extremely difficult for the young person to get his bearings. In addition to this there are general declaratory places which sometimes remind one of the appeals of the CPSU Central Committee for various holidays.

The draft platform even now contains, as it were, a time bomb. And that is the way it always turns out when the future is earmarked by taking into account only current problems when tomorrow's problems should be at the head of the list.

What am I talking about? I cannot understand, for example, how the party organizations, especially the local ones, will operate with the introduction of the institution of the multiparty system, which is actually already mentioned in the document. What will happen to production? Will it not be turned into a kind of discussion club at the machine tool enterprise? Or will the local party organizations at the enterprises be eliminated? What is the party strategy now under these conditions? It is quite incomprehensible.

One must not remain silent about such issues. It is necessary to look far into the future and give clear reference points for the future for otherwise we might end up on the outskirts of sociopolitical life.

It is from this standpoint that one could view the forthcoming campaign for reports and elections in the party which in terms of its content, it seems to me, will be more electing than reporting. If today a lack of confidence in the current composition of the party obkom and gorkom is being expressed by a number of local party organizations one would think that soon, in light of the events developing in the city, this might become a mass movement. And we are keeping track not in five-year periods, not in quarters, but in days. Comrades.

In light of what has been said I propose that the participants in the plenum become the initiators of roundtable meetings in order to search for compromises so as to reduce the social tension in the city.

I shall not conceal the fact that as first secretary of the oblast Komsomol committee I frequently have occasion to compare the processes that are taking place in the party and the Komsomol. And much of what is being discussed here and what seems to be new has been observed in our Komsomol organization a half year or even a year ago. Whether it be appeals to reject the principle of democratic socialism or the transfer of dues to the higher organizations. We actually resolved long ago the issue that 70 percent of the dues should remain with the local party organizations and we do not transfer anything to the Komsomol Central Committee. The same thing can be said about the change in the structure of the oblast Komsomol organization and the creation within it of a unified management organ, which happened much earlier in our group.

Even now it is clear that the oblast party conference, for example, will have to be held in two stages. The first as is suggested in the draft and the second after the 28th Party Congress. I think this could also be reflected in the decree of our plenum along with the wish to make the conference a permanent organ of the oblast organization of quick reaction in a rapidly changing situation.

Today during the period of the report and election campaign it is extremely important to enlist young communists and Komsomol members in the development of party documents and decisions as well as in active participation in the life of the party organizations

I wish to express one idea which will probably not be popular among those present here. It is about elections in party districts. Here, it seems to me, we have another time bomb when not a single young communists, at least not one working in the Komsomol, is to be elected either as a member of the oblast party committee or even as a delegate to the conference. Think about this, please, when you vote.

Today, unfortunately, we frequently see distancing and sometimes indifference on the part of the party organizations with respect to the affairs of the Komsomol. This, incidentally, is one of the reasons for the critical attitude of some young people toward the CPSU. I am convinced that cooperation and partnership between the party and the Komsomol, which was mentioned in the draft under discussion, should be realized in practice. This is now the only way to draw youth to our side and make them our allies in the struggle.

And this in principle is a strategic issue and the future of the party itself.

I.A. Korsakov, first secretary of the Primorskiy CPSU Raykom

Today the local party organizations of the rayon are discussing the materials of the plenum and the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress. The communists note that they reflect many proposals expressed at party meetings even during the preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the discussion of the platform of the Leningrad CPSU organization, which were sent to the party Central Committee.

The communists are saying—and they are right—that a number of wordings in the platform are not concrete and are vague, and that the efficiency factor of the decisions made at the plenum of the Central Committee could be considerably greater if it had been held at least a year ago. We in the party have indeed lagged behind the perestroika processes taking place in the country and thus have compressed the time until an explosive situation develops. Only an accelerated solution to a number of social problems, quick and decisive reaction to the events taking place in the city, and prompt and reliable notification of the population about them will help to get us out of this difficult situation.

We are constantly discussing this subject and we are also constantly hearing reproaches from communists and their perplexed questions: "Where are the answers, what is the position of the central organs, and the party, soviet, and management organs of Leningrad?"

As a first step to consulting with communists, the local party organizations gave a positive assessment to holding referendums on problems within the party. The results showed that about 95 percent of the communists of the rayon who participated in it voted in favor of a unified Leningrad party committee and direct elections of delegates to the Leningrad conference from the party

districts. And about 75 percent voted in favor of electing new members to the CPSU obkom and the control and inspection commission at the rayon conferences on a competitive basis with unrestricted nomination of candidates from the local party organizations.

A similar opinion was expressed concerning the creation of a republic party organization in the RSFSR. Here one can name many other issues and problems which require a study of the opinions of all party members, and today a final decision can be made on them only by consulting with communists. Apparently in this connection it would also have been expedient to make the draft provisions concerning elections of delegates to the conference and the formation of management organs of the Leningrad oblast party organization available to all communists before today's plenum.

The CPSU Central Committee Platform does not reflect concretely the questions of increasing the rights and expanding the independence of local party organizations, and yet they are supposed to be playing the main and decisive role in the party. Party decisions should be developed through them, through all communists, and not from above to below as happens today. In our view it should be clearly determined what we mean by independence of local party organizations and what functions they should be assigned. And everything that can be turned over today should be turned over at the next plenum of the Central Committee without waiting for the 28th Party Congress or the regulations since certain points have already become a reality.

In the platform not a word is said about the role and position of territorial party organizations to which almost one-fourth of all communists belong. Today we are in a difficult situation with respect to some of these communists who have worked honestly and conscientiously in the party all their lives, have been forced to leave the party because of their health, and their party cards have been taken away. This procedure is painful both for the local party organizations and for the communist himself. Party organizations should be given the right to resolve issues of releasing communists from paying dues and attending party meetings because of their age, health, and material position, and also to confer the title of Honored Member of the CPSU on the communists who have made the greatest contribution to the work of party organizations.

At a meeting in territorial party organization No. 2 of our rayon, where I had to give a report on the materials of the February plenum of the Central Committee, the communists gave me a mandate—to deliver the following request to the Central Committee. To envision in the CPSU Central Committee Platform accepting people into the party without the candidate probationary period. For many communists who entered the party during the thirties and forties, because of factors having nothing to do with them, the candidate probationary period was three to four years and more. They are raising the question of including these years in their overall

tenure. I think the proposal deserves attention and should be supported and taken into account upon final consideration of the CPSU Central Committee Platform at the 28th Party Congress.

Further, I should like to discuss these questions. At the joint plenum of the obkom and gorkom we adopted the platform of the Leningrad party organization and published its text, but the communists do not know how it is being carried out. The Leningrad press, radio, and television should provide information about the course of implementing the directions and concrete points of the platform. Otherwise one could get the impression that this document, like a number of other decisions, has been consigned to oblivion and no organizational work has been done for its implementation.

The Democratic Platform that appeared recently in the newspaper SMENA is the result of the activity of party clubs, it is being received in different ways, and it demands more extensive press coverage of the position of communists as well as in-depth theoretical clarification.

And the last thing. In a couple of days we shall have to elect democratic organs. Our future life will depend on the choices we make. Today everyone—both communists and nonparty members—are vitally interested in having the people's deputies be people who are really capable of working on perestroika. Therefore I suggest instructing the editorial commission to develop a draft of an appeal from participants in the plenum to Leningrad citizens regarding this question and adopting it today at our joint plenum. Thank you for your attention.

O.E. Petrova, poultry attendant at Nevskaya Poultry Farm

For several years now we have been saying that our party is in a critical condition but not all of us probably understand yet how critical that condition is. But the main thing is that they do not want to understand this in the Central Committee or the Politburo either. It is disturbing that representatives of Leningrad could not bring this problem of ours to the Central Committee or the Politburo at the last plenum in February.

The majority of communists in Leningrad agreed to hold a party congress in April-May. Nonetheless it will not be until June-July. Holding the congress in June-July will put off the election campaign until the end of the year since the summer period is a dead season in party life, especially for us in rural areas. We all know that when the parties of Eastern Europe ended up in a critical condition they held party congresses within a couple of weeks or a month, but we consider it possible to stretch time when delay is fatal. Each day of delay of the congress increases the number of resignations of communists from the party. The first to submit their resignations were people whom we ourselves should have expelled from the party, but now more and more resignations are coming from people who would be useful to a renewed party.

It is very difficult to work with these communists after the program on Central Television showing the burning of party cards; this show along with the fact that there was no comment from Comrade Razumovskiy or, perhaps, even M.S. Gorbachev was almost a guide to action for the unstable part of the party. If only this film were the only document discrediting our party! But there are quite a few of them in the mass media. All of us had waited with great hope for the February Central Committee Plenum but, to our deep disappointment, it did not justify our hopes.

The CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress is a good basis for discussion at the congress, but the real situation demanded that the plenum immediately, bypassing a number of instructions, grant the local party organizations the right to finally decide the question of the admission or expulsion of CPSU members and to permit members to resign from the party at their own request with their party card appended, without their having to go through all the necessary party offices. Now is the time to discuss the question of leaving more than 50 percent of the dues that are gathered with the local party organizations. Party committees of all ranks should be given the right to revise the tables of distribution of the workers under their supervision.

The breakdown of the party can and must be replaced by a restoration of the sense of party comradeship. A great interference is caused by a boundary everyone can see, behind which certain communists can obtain apartments built with party funds from the party budget and vacation in party sanatoriums while others for some reason cannot. Can people with such different positions really be considered communists? It is necessary to eliminate among communists the concept that they are the party apparatus which receives money from the party and we are the rank-and-file communists who pay this money. And only the establishment of the same rights and benefits for all party members will improve this situation.

Even now it would be possible to grant local party organizations the right to send seriously ill communists to Sverdlovka for treatment, even if it is the only pass we have to the Central Committee sanatorium on the Black Sea and even if it is in the month of February. Who has more of a right to this pass? The 40-year-old raykom [rayon party committee] secretary or the rank-and-file communist with 40 years in the party?

Wanting to get to the plenum as quickly as possible I tried to come here by the street that leads to the central entrance from Smolnyy Cathedral but a policeman cut me off and told me that it was strictly forbidden for anyone to take this street. Why? Only when any party member, a rank-and-file communist, can take any road at any time to go to the obkom [oblast party committee], only then will we be sitting here be able to call ourselves comrades!

Probably like the majority of Leningrad communists, we are not satisfied by the composition of the Leningrad representatives in the Central Committee. All of them should be replaced immediately, in our opinion, since, in addition to everything else, they took a conciliatory position at the February plenum and did not insist on conducting the congress in the spring of this year as was demanded by the majority of the Leningrad party organization. We considered it necessary to take everything we had said about increasing the rights of the local party organizations to the next Central Committee plenum.

If we decide that the report and election campaign in the party should be conducted after the congress, the congress should be held in April or May at the latest and new regulations should be adopted and a new Central Committee should be elected there. But if the congress is held in June-July as usual, then we think it necessary to conduct the report and election campaign right now because we cannot put it off until the end of the year because too much time will have passed since the congress. I have in mind the summer when we will not be able to obtain a quorum at the party meetings and a lot of the material from the congress, unless it deserves our special attention, unlike with the February plenum, will have been forgotten.

And the last thing. I cannot fail to mention that many communists think that in the party, as in the trade union, one should pay dues in the amount of one percent of one's earnings. And part of the dues should be left with the local party organization according to the estimate agreed upon with the higher party organ.

[Passage omitted]

Yu. Ye. Rakov, first secretary of the Petrogradskiy CPSU Raykom

In our fourth hour of work we have finally reached what is in my view the main issue: Why do we actually exist? As a party, as a political organization. Do we exist in order to implement our policy through the authorities. We have come to the main question: The question of power. But it is surprising that we speak of this so very calmly, as though this power were handed down to us from somewhere above, forever, as though we were not engaged in the bitterest political struggle on the squares, among the population, in our places of residence, wherever you look. I am very offended that in Boris Veniaminovich's speech there was no mention of a coordinating, guiding policy. Either we are too naive or, excuse me, we are too irresponsible.

Communists come up to me here and in the corridor. Yuriy Yevgenyevich, who are you voting for in some certain district? Comrades, we are the party. The People's Front is not afraid to publish the lists of its members. Why are we hiding somewhere and why do our candidates go to the sidelines? We are a force, Comrades. If at the same time we call for our communists to unite their efforts we shall win. Today when discussing questions of our condition within the party we think first of

all about having the masses of workers come back to us, about attracting them with our image, our program, and our actions. This is our main task and the thing which in principle we definitely must discuss at this plenum.

Now about the party. Comrades. We are always losing the initiative and a number of the mass media are "helping" us with this. I must say that our combined plenum in November of last year and our rally of communists were very indicative of this. Just look, as soon as we have taken the initiative our opponents, including in the competing mass media, have taken it away, tried by any means to destroy it, to nullify it. And, unfortunately, they have largely succeeded in this.

Before the February plenum of the Central Committee we again heard from disreputable quarters, excuse me, because we know who are in these party clubs—I do not wish to offend the sensibilities of communists but we know that half of the People's Front are there, including ardent opponents of the CPSU who are calling for its elimination. A party alternative has appeared, a Democratic Platform has appeared, the main goal of which is to rip the initiative from the hands of the CPSU and present themselves as the main radicals, the main democrats in the party. On the pages of our party press I have not seen a single intelligent statement on the subject "What is a Democratic Platform" and why it does not suit us as communists, or how it is different from the CPSU Platform.

Boris Veniaminovich has already emphasized in his statements that 85 percent of the platform of democratic clubs coincides with the CPSU Platform. Yes, they coincide. But how do they differ? The main difference is that the Democratic Platform leads to an elimination of the party as a political organization. So we must say this, Comrades: The absence of democratic centralism means complete irresponsibility, a lack of party discipline, a failure to carry out the decisions we have made ourselves. If you want to, go ahead and carry them out, if you do not, do not bother.

And what does the absence of a party structure mean? When three people have met on a trolley this is already a party. Tomorrow when they go their separate ways the party no longer exists. We are not fighting against these views, we are not explaining our positions. Comrades, we are again letting go of the political initiative. And for the most part we turned out to be right to hold our combined plenum in December. Events have confirmed this and now the "democrats" are also asking in passing: Why did the CPSU Platform appear so late? And for a moment they "forgot" that this was first announced by the Leningrad communists at their combined plenum.

And another question. The question of the power of information. We say that there is judicial power, there is executive power, and there is legislative power, but we forget that the most powerful force is in the hands of those who have the power of information. The person who has this forms public opinion. And who is forming

public opinion today, including during the course of such an important campaign as the election campaign? Today, Comrades, we have many complaints against our party organs, above all the mass media. Today, unfortunately, we have a new elite. While we previously said, and they said about us, that the power was held by the party apparatchiks, today the power is held by the journalist apparatchiks. Tell me, please, how could Comrade Mayorov, a communist and member of the gorkom, publish in the newspaper *VECHERENYI LENINGRAD* an appeal from the deputies who called for a violent overthrow of Soviet power, without any comments, without any evaluation? Who gave him the right? The bureau of the oblast party committee? So our bureau, the obkom or the gorkom is directing the activity of our mass media toward destabilization of the situation in our region? Where is the evaluation of this event? Everyone has again gone to somewhere on the sidelines.

I shall not give examples of how a number of our leaders are simply being poisoned by the mass media. Comrade Burchakov spoke here and he taught us how we ought to live. Unfortunately, he has disappeared from the plenum. But I would like to ask him a question which is also a correct response: Whose organ is the newspaper *SMENA* today? Who controls it? And the last thing, Comrades, is a response to the speech by Comrade Alferov. When defending the former obkom secretary he should have shown the usual human tactfulness with respect to the current secretary as well.

And second. In general we have sent our representatives to the Central Committee plenum: We have sent the aktiv and nominated secretaries of party committees and raykoms. I should like to ask: Zhores Ivanovich, how did you end up at the plenum if not through games of the apparatus.

Comrade Alferov, Zh.I.

I cannot answer right now. I received an invitation from the Central Committee and I am here under orders.

Volgograd Obkom Chief Interviewed

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[Interview with Yu.A. Nekrasov, secretary of the Provisional Bureau of the Volgograd Oblast CPSU Committee, by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent D. Shevarov, in Volgograd on 19 February: "The Rally Is Breathing Down My Neck"; first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA biography]

[Text] Yury Aleksandrovich Nekrasov is 60. He has been a CPSU member since 1952. He was educated as a history teacher. Nekrasov did Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] work, and in 1956 became a kolkhoz [collective farm] chairman during a party mobilization. Subsequently, he did party work: He was elected first secretary of a raykom [rayon party

committee]. Recently, he worked as chief of the Volgograd Oblast Administration for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade. In the pre-election struggle of 1989, he was an authorized representative of candidate USSR People's Deputy Yuriy Bondarev. Having become a secretary of the provisional bureau of the CPSU obkom, he removed a militia post at the entrance to the obkom [oblast party committee], he ensured the transfer of "obkom dachas" to the preventive treatment center "Mother and Child." He commutes to and from work by mass transit.

Who would believe that you can just pick up the phone, dial the phone number of the obkom secretary, and hear his voice? However, this is exactly how—directly and within half a minute—I made an appointment with Secretary of the Provisional Bureau of the party obkom Yuriy Aleksandrovich Nekrasov.

[Shevarov] Tyumen, Chernovtsy, Volgograd, Sverdlovsk, Donetsk... The list of cities in which oblast party leaders have resigned is, perhaps, known to all of us. However, everything does not develop in the same way; there are common reasons, and there are different reasons. Is it not time to come up with a definition of what has been happening?

[Nekrasov] Indeed, the situations in these cities only seem similar. It is only the outcome of this disease that is similar—a surgical intervention. Inner reasons are much more complex! The party needs democratic transformations. For example, we have very heavy rules, and we are locked inside them like in armor. If we are not going to comply with the rules at present this is no good at all. But what if we are going to comply with it? Then we will do nothing else but comply with the rules.

[Shevarov] Some of the resolutions of the last obkom plenum, its recommendations for elections to the oblast party conference, clearly contravene the current rules.

[Nekrasov] This is a sensible resolution of the issue rather than contravention. The issue should have been resolved long ago. But why wasn't it arranged yesterday, the day before yesterday, or a year ago for the communists themselves to elect delegates? What stands in the way of this? Why do we need this complex arrangement of rayon and city conferences? What if we make it simpler: The issues of electing delegates will be resolved by the oblast committee of the party, oblast party organization, rayon organizations, and primary organizations themselves thus ensuring the most democratic mode, so that every communist will vote for his delegate. I am in favor of this idea finding its way to the new CPSU Rules. Incidentally, the people of my generation and with my background have never lived in keeping with instructions.

[Shevarov] Still, the events in Volgograd are peculiar, aren't they?

[Nekrasov] I believe that had the members of the Volgograd Obkom Bureau not allowed the abuse of housing

legislation to occur, had they not clung to their privileges (I mean dachas, hospitals, and so on) the issue would have been the style and methods of work which at present are unfit not only in Volgograd. This was recognized by the February plenum of the Central Committee: The party needs profound perestroika.

[Shevarov] Specifically, what do you propose to overcome the crisis?

[Nekrasov] If what we have planned is carried out it will amount to one hundred steps forward. We have proposed to elect delegates to the conference and members of the party obkom directly in primary party organizations. You have a party district, 1,000 communists, and they have a right to decide who is to be elected to the obkom. Procedures for electing secretaries will be set forth by the conference itself. It could be that the secretaries will be elected at the conference rather than at the plenum. A new rule has been needed for a long time now, but writing it has taken them too long...

If we want to be a political party and remain a ruling party we should be mindful of our authority and fight for it.

[Shevarov] Did they listen to you then?

[Nekrasov] You know how it all ended... The trouble also was that we did not recognize alternatives anywhere. Party organizations were often led by mere "managers," party managers rather than political leaders. Their style of leadership and ethics were of the same standard. The rallies are a response to these leaders.

[Shevarov] Are you not afraid of resistance?

[Nekrasov] I work by the method of persuasion. We should not go easy on a person who commits personal abuses, we should not try to put ourselves in his position! But in all other cases only the method of persuasion works, when you look at everything from the perspective of your soul rather than instructions and then convince others. Yes, indeed, I am running into resistance, and such resistance that persuasion does not help. Still, please understand that at present you cannot be some kind of a press and put the people down. You may change somebody's mind, reassign him to another job, but you cannot break a person.

[Shevarov] Somehow, everything seems to be simple for you. Don't you feel that they are "breathing down your neck?"

[Nekrasov] The rally is breathing down my neck. After all, over there they may also slander a person, and you cannot even justify yourself. You cannot even utter a word. An absolute majority of the working people, including the intelligentsia, is against the extremist scenarios of events. I am convinced of that. We've had enough revolutions. We should work in a planned manner, creatively, and prudently...

[Shevarov] The provisional bureau agrees to radical solutions so rapidly that this begs the question: Could it be that you make decisions so quickly just because you are provisional? The permanent bureau will come later, and everything will become as it used to be?

[Nekrasov] Recently, I gathered the raykom secretaries and told them: Don't worry, we are not going to make anti-constitutional, counterrevolutionary, or anti-party decisions. Our conscience is the guarantee of this. However, nobody will subsequently cancel our decisions either. Perhaps, the permanent bureau is going to be even more progressive; it will be elected in a new manner. We expect to abandon the official-position principle in the course of elections to the bureau: This is Comrade "Oblsovprof" [oblast trade union council], this is Comrade "KNK" [Committee of People's Control], this is a representative of the security organs... It is individuals who should be elected, creatively thinking and ethical individuals. Never mind what their posts are.

[Shevarov] What do you think about the current socio-political situation in the oblast?

[Nekrasov] It is very complex. The rallies have spread to the rayons; however, there are different kinds of rallies. Some are organized by informals, others by executive committees and even party raykoms. They may be contradictory, they may rule each other out, they may be clamorous. But they do give us a spectrum of opinions. Party functionaries should not scare themselves with rallies; they should go to the rallies and then think. A complicated situation does not yet mean a disaster. Our oblast is going through a political turning point. The people are going to choose freely for the first time. The struggle for the seats of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet deputies is intense in all districts. In some districts, there are up to 10 candidates.

So far, I have not been elected a delegate to the conference, and it is still in doubt whether I will be elected a member of the obkom. I have to go to the people and convince them that I want to do specific things. They will look at me and say: We are going to think about it. They will put my name on the list and will later announce the results of a secret vote. It is quite possible that my name will not come up. However, I am very happy that we have begun to have elections in the party.

[Shevarov] They are going to have yet another rally in Volgograd...

[Nekrasov] I will say this: Everything needs to be done with a clear conscience. In our country, we have already had sad experience with rallies. I am not thinking now about the slogans of the demonstrators but about the innocent people who have suffered already. One does not necessarily express his devotion to his ideals in the street by waving a flag. You are in favor of a democratic CPSU platform? Great. We made the House of Political Education available to comrade democrats, and they are welcome to gather there and hold discussions. I am

against street actions because the situation in the country is extremely hot, and any kind of provocation may be expected. It is not democracy that I am afraid of but grief and tears. For instance, they also had a rally in Mikhaylovka, and the 46-year-old first secretary of the raykom was taken by ambulance to an intensive-care unit right from the square. I am thinking: Is this the price we have to pay for the political freedom acquired? I have known this secretary for a long time. He is a man of integrity and honest, but he just takes it all to heart too much.

[Shevarov] When we met for the first time, you said that you were following closely what KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA was writing about the events in Volgograd...

[Nekrasov] I would not like to take issue with the factual material. However, it seems to me that in reflecting the need for democratic processes we should not emphasize things which will cause idle talk. In Volgograd, we ended up being drawn into the whirlwind of overall tension, but this is not the essence of the moment. We are looking for the variants of democratic transformations, so come and help us. How do the sad images make you feel? Incon-solable, that's all. You know, I lived in a village which had 500 farmsteads. This was during the war. Common illiterate people asked me to write letters to those at the front for them. It was rough. People starved to death, they were sick, and they received death notifications. However, this was not what they wrote about in their letters. The confidence of the people in our victory was unshakeable. I will swear to this on the ashes of my mother. This is the kind of confidence which we now need.

[Shevarov] Do you have it?

[Nekrasov] I do, 100 per cent.

Voronezh Obkom Secretaries Run Unopposed

90UN0927B Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian No 6, 10 Feb 90 p 3

[Letter by V. Semenov, member of the USSR Union of Writers, and response by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA special correspondent E. Yefremov: "On Candidates Who Run Unopposed, or Why I Have Withdrawn My Own Candidacy"]

[Text] Many people are talking about it now in Voronezh. Everyone except for the oblast's newspapers, television, and radio...

For more than two weeks the newspaper KOMMUNA published a list of candidates for the post of deputy to the local soviets and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. By the time the publication ended, the inhabitants of Voronezh had discovered that the candidates were clearly divided into two groups. The first consisted of those who really will be elected from two, three, four...or ten candidates. The second is "the unopposed" who have at their disposal whole electoral districts where the populations

have been relieved of the agonizing disquiet of the election—they are simply supposed to vote for a single candidate.

Here is an excerpt from an edition of the newspaper KOMMUNA. Voronezh national-territorial electoral district No 33: V. Anishchev, chairman of the RSFSR Committee of People's Control; E. Yefremov, special correspondent for the SOVETSKAYA KULTURA newspaper; M. Karpachev, dean of the history department at VGU [Voronezh State University]; I. Muravyev, graduate student at VPI [Voronezh Polytechnic Institute]; Yu. Ovcharenkov, head of a workshop at a tire factory; Yu. Strukov, military prosecutor of the Voronezh garrison; V. Trofimov, head of the laboratory at a branch of the "Avtogemash" VNI [all-union scientific research institute]... Seven men for one mandate. All are earnest, respected men. They are communists. It is a pity that only one of them can be elected to the new Russian parliament, but what can you do? Democracy...

We read further. Anninskiy electoral district No 339: I. Ivlev, chairman of the Voronezh oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee]. The only candidate. An earnest, respected man. A communist. But—he is the only candidate...

Povorino, electoral district No 111: I. Lonshakov, chairman of the gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee]. The only one... Povorinskiy Rayon, electoral district No 213: P. Grinev, chairman of the rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee]... Pavlovskiy Rayon, electoral district No 199: L. Vorotnikov, first secretary of the CPSU raykom [rayon party committee]; electoral district No 204: I. Shatskiy, chairman of the rayispolkom... Ramonskiy Rayon, electoral district No 218: S. Burakov, chairman of the committee of party control under the CPSU obkom [oblast party committee]... Gribovskiy Rayon, electoral district No 155: G. Kabasin, first secretary of the CPSU obkom... Bogucharskiy Rayon, electoral district No 131: B. Zarubin, second secretary of the CPSU obkom... Sovetskiy Rayon, electoral district No 81: V. Butyrin, secretary of the CPSU obkom... All of these people are single candidates.

I could continue the list, but this should suffice. With the rare exception (Rossosh and Novovoronezh) the situation is similar in all the oblast's rayons. And there are about 30 of them.

The law permits the nomination of a single candidate. As a citizen and a member of the party, which has proposed a course on the democratization of society, I am troubled most of all by the moral aspect of such a system of nomination in favor of individual leaders. It should be noted that many general directors of the largest production associations, prominent party and soviet workers, managers, and directors turned up in the unopposed races. And I did not find a single worker, peasant, teacher, or common doctor in the ranks of those who will be contending all by themselves at the elections. And will it not happen that the staff of the future oblast soviet

may to a surprising degree resemble the plenum of the CPSU obkom, if the very same people take part there?

I can say nothing definite about the other group of candidates who will be elected. Here everything depends on the will, desire, and even the whim of the voters. This is democracy.

As a communist who has been in the party for more than a quarter of a century, I cannot understand and accept this blatant interference in the people's natural wish for democratic multicandidate elections.

As a candidate for deputy to the oblast and city soviets, nominated by collectives at the university and the writers organization, I find myself in a difficult position on the very eve of the election contest: How can I participate in the contest for the position of deputy under such conditions with a clear conscience and a peaceful heart?

I apologize, but I withdraw my candidacy for the elections to the oblast soviet. I reserve the right to run in the elections to the city soviet of people's deputies. Judging by the lists that were published, it is more democratic there.

*Valentin Semenov,
member of the USSR Union of Writers,
member of the CPSU.*

From Our Own Correspondent: E. Yefremov

The letter of V. Semenov was sent to the editorial office, and literally on the very next day there was an addendum to it: The inhabitants of Voronezh expressed their concern over the single-candidate elections. There was a meeting at the Palace of Culture imeni Karl Marx, at which the following resolution was adopted:

"We consider the fact that a large number of candidates of the party and state apparat are running without opposing candidates to be a challenge flung in the face of the people.

"We declare that the Voronezh CPSU Obkom and Oblispolkom have not properly performed the task of instituting perestroika in Voronezh Oblast.

"We give a vote of no confidence to G.S. Kabasin, USSR people's deputy and first secretary of the Voronezh CPSU Obkom."

There was no reaction from the CPSU obkom. Then a plenum of the Voronezh CPSU Gorkom [City Party Committee] took place under the agenda "On Current Events." V. Lapin, first secretary of the Tsentralnyy Raykom shared the concern of the meeting's participants. He addressed himself to the first secretary of the CPSU obkom: "Gennadiy Sergeyevich, we have talked to one another quite a lot recently. You must believe that these criticisms reflect the opinion of many of the inhabitants of Voronezh, both party and nonparty. I think that the bureau of the obkom will draw the correct conclusions from all that has been said."

B. Kuznetsov, acting senior lecturer for the philosophy faculty of the VPI, said: "What is required of the leader of the oblast's party organization? First of all he must be a political leader. ...Unopposed candidates from our party apparat—this is a moral question. This is the second time that Gennadiy Sergeyevich has run without opposition, and the people are fully aware of it."

B. Artemov, head of the ideology department of the Levoberezhnyy CPSU Raykom said, "I do not know what you have been hearing from the ideology department of the CPSU obkom. We have been sending summaries of the citizens' questions to them over the last three years. Criticism of the obkom and of Kabasin personally has been growing. Tomorrow I will be going to the lecture hall. What will I say about your performance? Where is your party's political evaluation of the situation today? What is your attitude toward the informal movements, toward privileges? Will I really say that garden plots are comparable to the dachas of the obkom?"

The next day a city-wide prelection meeting took place at the "Yubeleyny" sporting club. The resulting resolution again gave a vote of no confidence to the bureau of the obkom and to G.S. Kabasin, first secretary of the CPSU obkom. Votes of no confidence were also given to the editorial board of the newspaper KOMMUNA and the chairman of the obkom for radio and television broadcasting for biased commentary on the position of the informals and for adding to the atmosphere of distrust and alarm.

Speaking at the meeting, V. Lebedev, first secretary of the party gorkom, condemned the practice of single-candidate elections and introduced a number of concrete proposals for the organization of local regional self-management.

Estonian USSR Deputy on Lithuanian Events

90UN1451B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 22 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[ETA report on interview with Igor Gryazin, USSR People's Deputy from the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, by unnamed Estonian press attache: "The Outlook for the Creation of a New Union"]

[Text] The third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is continuing its work. But no deputies from Estonia can be seen, or are almost not seen, at meetings, in committees and commissions, in the Hotel "Moskva" where they stay, and, finally, they are not seen at the Estonian delegation at Sobinovskiy 5. What is the problem? Why did a majority of the Estonian deputies depart? When will they again take part in discussions on the most important state issues? The press attache of the Estonian delegation quickly addressed these and other questions to Igor Gryazin, one of the few USSR people's deputies from the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic who, strange as it may seem, turned out to be among those who patiently continue to carry out their deputy functions and authorities as if nothing had happened.

[Question] So what is the real state of affairs, Igor Nikolayevich? And which of our deputies remains in the Kremlin?

[Gryazin] First and foremost, people's deputies of the USSR who are elected by all-union and public organizations. For example Yu. Kahn represents the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League]. General V. Vare represents the veterans and, in representing these groups specifically, they cannot suspend activity.

Only those deputies who represent the interests of Estonia and who are subject to the laws of Estonia, including the decree Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet decree of 23 February and the decision of the deputies of 2 February, which speaks of the need for the start of negotiations with Moscow, suspended their activity. Deputy T. Pupkevich, who represents a different political position, remains. But they left me here as an expert jurist and as the permanent semi-diplomatic representative to the USSR Supreme Soviet, whose task consists of assisting the start of the present negotiations and the conduct of preliminary work.

[Question] Did the absent deputies surrender their powers?

[Gryazin] By no means. The reason is that we are not able to take part in discussions of a whole number of draft laws until the negotiations themselves are started and until the positions of the sides are defined. Our position will depend on the presence or absence of negotiations. Therefore, in order to avoid errors and not to impede the conduct of negotiations it will be necessary to temporarily suspend, but not surrender, deputy powers. And I do not exclude that this participation will be renewed at some stage.

[Question] Have there been any kind of changes for the better with respect to Estonia since the meeting and talks with President M. Gorbachev?

[Gryazin] Nothing has changed directly, because the term is not yet up. We cannot hurry here. In addition, the 20th Congress of the Estonian Communist Party is just around the corner, and the first new Supreme Soviet will be assembled. Moreover, it is necessary both for us and our partners to prepare for serious talks. But the events in Lithuania and the campaign around it, of course, are a definite accelerator.

But this is a feature I would like to turn your attention to: The Government of the USSR has for the first time shown its true self—there is a phrase in a statement regarding Lithuania that all enterprises of Union subordination are Union property. This was previously concealed carefully. Here it is a question of the desire of the Union government to retain that which was removed by force from the Union republics, including from the people of Estonia. This feature is capable of radicalizing the political situation in significant measure. Because the question is about the retention of property in the hands of the central apparatus and the government. Now we see

clearly what the paramount task of the USSR Government is—to hold on to power—and it is holding on with a deadly grip. And all the talk about reform—this is words and camouflage. I think this is an important and very essential factor that will have to be taken into account during negotiations in Moscow.

[Question] Igor Nikolayevich! What do you think in this connection about the prospect and reality of negotiations between Estonia and the center?

[Gryazin] I think that this process is inevitable! The positions are drawn rather clearly—it is a fact that an overwhelming majority of the people of Estonia do not desire to remain in the structure of the Union in its present form.

[Question] And what about the new draft of the review of the union treaty?

[Gryazin] I can assure you that there is nothing new there at all. Everything is sustained in the good old Stalinist spirit. And I treat the phrase about a new federation with extreme caution. This of course is a nice wish, but in the meantime no one has undertaken any specific real steps in the direction of a new federation. Everything is based on the fact that all power should belong to the center—from this come the attitudes of both the center and the republics. Against this background, I can say that the independence of Estonia outside the boundaries of the Union today is a political inevitability. Consequently, only one way out remains: negotiations!

[Question] Yes, but negotiations and the prospect of Estonia's secession from the Union structure evoke great concern among the republic Russian-speaking population.

[Gryazin] As a politician, I think that since there is such concern it should be taken into account as a real fact during the political dialogue on the subject of Estonian independence. It is very important now to know what the essence of this concern is, what guarantees they are asking for, and what guarantees they are demanding. And these guarantees must be given! And these guarantees have to be defined precisely by those who are concerned and by those who are demanding them, that is, these questions must be resolved with the involvement of the Russian-speaking population of the republic. Then the road itself to negotiations will be cleared, and there will be no obstacles to the achievement of the final objective—the sovereignty and independence of Estonia.

Tartu Gorkom Chief on Future of Party

90UN1425A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 22 Mar 90 p 2

[Interview with Yukhan Tamme, first secretary of the Tartu Gorkom, by G. Rozenshteyn, under the rubric "Greeting the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress"; time, date, and place of interview not given: "We Remain Utopian Socialists Even Today"]

[Text] The first secretary of the Tartu City Committee of the Party [Gorkom], Candidate of Historical Sciences Yukhan Tamme, answers SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA's questions.

[Rozenshteyn] Many party documents are now being discussed. One of them is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [CPSU] Central Committee's draft platform approved at the Central Committee's February plenum. In my opinion, the document is well-founded and bold. You have the whole newspaper, and I see that it is marked all over with red pencil.

[Tamme] There is no doubt about it; that document is a step forward, and no small step. But, if only it had come out a year or a year and a half ago.... Things have come apart now, not only in the Baltic States, but in Russia as well—the document obviously is rather late. The evidence? Last year, Baltic State communists were talking about federalism [federation] in the party. That is now a bygone stage, as Lithuania's attempt shows, and there is no longer much of such talk. However, the CPSU has not yet become friendly toward federalism. In making an address at the Central Committee Plenum in March, M.S. Gorbachev repeated: There is no federalism in the party. At the same time, communist party representatives of Kazakhstan, Moldavia, Georgia, and a number of other republics, who spoke at the plenum, said insistently: We must achieve a union of communist parties and reach consensus when making decisions, and we must achieve parity in forming the CPSU's leading party organs, etc. There were more than half a dozen speeches in that vein, and, as they say, zero attention.

[Rozenshteyn] I think you will at least agree with the last part of the platform's speaking in detail about revitalizing the party. In my opinion, the approach is innovative.

[Tamme] I agree; at first glance, there are many interesting things in that part. However, the main thing is not touched upon. In any process, the main thing is the power question. The machinery for shaping party power has been left essentially as before. We solemnly proclaim that article 6 does not exist. Thank God. But its repeal does not mean that the CPSU has lost power. And I think the CPSU will remain the most powerful political force in the Soviet Union in the immediate future.

[Rozenshteyn] Much attention was devoted to constitutional questions at the March plenum. And these, you know, are power questions for all practical purposes.

[Tamme] Of course. And what happened? The very same machinery was "transcribed" with perfect clarity. Although the territorial party organizations are recognized as republic communists' parties, and it is said that they may largely decide their own internal affairs independently in the future, the sovereign republic's communists do not want to decide only internal affairs. All affairs are their affairs. A paradox occurs: All political movements in Estonia profess the intention of full-fledged independence, while the Estonian Communist

Party abides by all-union, all-party standards as before. In the final analysis, it turns out that our lagging behind is well-founded. We are in no condition to perform the function of a party that foresees. We mark time, and are almost always rich in hindsight. That Union agreement was a revolutionary step, but today it is too late. We proposed that agreement in 1988.

[Rozenshteyn] I also see the March Central Committee Plenum's significance in a new organ's having been created—the Presidium, which will replace the Politburo. There, as you know, all union republics are represented. Also too late?

[Tamme] That is great. But beware—there, under one roof, representatives of the working class, the working peasantry, the youth, the women, the military, and the intelligentsia will also be assembled, and.... A sort of mini-Central Committee results. And, to the extent that parity and consensus do not exist there, an Estonian Communist Party representative, for example, who has disagreed with a Presidium decision, may only rely on the plenum. That is, he may lodge a complaint at its session. However, the plenum is a maxi-Central Committee, in which almost 60 percent of the membership consists of comrades from Russia, and everything is decided there in the old way; i.e., by numerical majority.

[Rozenshteyn] If I have understood you correctly, there is no point in concluding an agreement between the communist parties without the right of veto?

[Tamme] Of course. The train has departed. When we speak of the republic communist party's independence at the organizational level, we must realize: It is impossible to attain cooperation on an equal-rights basis within the CPSU framework if you are part of the whole. But, if you are independent at both the state and party levels, then you may talk about cooperation on an equal-rights basis with the USSR and the democratic forces within the CPSU and external to it.

[Rozenshteyn] I cannot well imagine how these same democratic forces can be found in the CPSU.

[Tamme] A "Democratic Platform" exists in the CPSU, by the way, and much in its program is attractive to me. However, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed his disagreement with that program at the March plenum, not on individual points, but in general.

[Rozenshteyn] Let us give PRAVDA its due. It provided an opportunity for the "Democratic Platform" to be expressed.

[Tamme] This just speaks of time's marching on. Remember, Gorbachev quite recently took a stand against the multiparty system and in defense of article 6....

[Rozenshteyn] Can the Estonian Communist Party benefit from the Lithuanian communists' experience?

[Tamme] I shall express my own opinion, and it differs from the viewpoint of others, who consider Lithuania's attempt unacceptable to us. Doubtless the Lithuanians did not think everything out, and what should not be done is to slam the door. On the other hand, communists have almost 40 seats in the Lithuanian Parliament. They ran for office under the banners of the Lithuanian Communist Party. I have asked myself the rhetorical question: How many Deputy's seats would Estonian communists hold if the Estonian Communist Party were to run on its platform? I think the results would be somewhat more modest than for the Lithuanians. The Lithuanian Communist Party's main shortcoming lies elsewhere—the step was taken too late. But then the Estonian Communist Party was unable to foresee the rise in the people's national self-consciousness. And what kind of party is it if it does not have the gift of foresight? We could have seized the initiative to defend humanistic principles on the basis of a Marxist attitude toward life. But now a tide of anticommunism is running. We, it turns out, objectively furthered this. The all-party rules of the game had compelled us to trudge along at the tail end of events. All the worse for us (and for the center, too, by the way).

[Rozenshteyn] Nevertheless, if "the train has departed," what sort of interrelations of the communist parties do you see in the future?

[Tamme] I see an association of differing Marxist parties, not as a union of 15 communist parties, but specifically as an association. Call it, provisionally, the Socialist International [Sotsintern], in keeping with the Communist International [Komintern]! Here, too, there is a bond, but organizationally these parties are sovereign. They may form blocs with respect to certain problems for the sake of a comprehensive resolution of matters. Cooperation on an equal-rights basis can occur only between truly equal and free forces.

[Rozenshteyn] What can you say about the creation of a democratic platform in the Estonian Communist Party?

[Tamme] As a person actively connected with politics, I understand: Breaking down the Estonian Communist Party (in the future, a left party) on the nationality principle is a blind alley. An attempt to solve the republic's problems without the nonindigenous population's participation is vain. Thus a strengthened voice for the Russian-speaking democratic wing within the party—that, undoubtedly, is a good thing. We in the Tartu Gorkom will study that wing's version of the platform and, perhaps, make some corrections. I wish to express this thought: Estonians must give the nonindigenous population unequivocally acceptable political and socioeconomic guarantees and civil rights. We must prove that, in reality, the republic's nonindigenous residents can realize their dream of a better life and democracy with the Estonians in this small independent state many times easier and faster than in a large state, where social-stratification and crisis-deepening processes are just beginning to gain momentum. In the platform

version, I feel, it is necessary to clarify the emphasis with respect to social justice. The society is in deep crisis today, and one may speak, not of social justice, but of creating the economic and political prerequisites for it. I am convinced that social democracy and social justice are the domains of states that have achieved undeniable successes in their development. We were utopian socialists before, and we remain the same even now when we continue in such a spirit.

[Rozenshteyn] But what will happen to the programs of certain informal movements that are calling for our well-being's deterioration not to be allowed? Nobody wants to live worse....

[Tamme] Nevertheless, it will happen, whether we like it or not. Both unemployment and increase in prices will occur. And, in addition—an increase in social inequality. It seems to me that Gorbachev made a strategic error at the outset of perestroika by having raised an expectation of early paradise. One must not seriously assert that perestroika cannot lead to a worsening of our situation. Worse days, alas, are ahead.

[Rozenshteyn] In that case, the Estonian Communist Party's role is unclear.

[Tamme] In this situation, the Estonian Communist Party must promote stability and civil order, and make its modest contribution, so to speak, to the common cause. A law on citizenship must come out as soon as possible, and our guarantees to the nonindigenous population, which is alarmed, must be declared. I would suggest a compromise: Estonians decide the issue of restoring Estonian statehood on the basis of the nationality's right to Estonia's self-determination, and all of the peoples living in Estonia, i.e., all republic residents, without exception, who have acquired citizenship under the law's "original [nulevoy] version," decide the organization of all future life in the independent state. Of course, a permanent residence restriction will apply to those who arrive in the republic later.

[Rozenshteyn] You constantly talk about consensus and guarantees. Are you guided by this in your party work?

[Tamme] We achieved consensus at the city conference of Tartu communists a month ago. Articles about the veritable isolation of the city's large Russian-speaking collectives had appeared in the local newspaper *VPERED* after the gorkom's January plenum. "We express mistrust of the gorkom"—that, if you please, was the main theme of the newspaper publications. It was possible to resort to the saving mechanism of majority—60 percent of those in the city organization are Estonians. However, this would not have added to mutual understanding. We said that we would respect the independence of primary party organizations, and explanatory work was done at the city conference, where there is a majority of Estonians. The work's result was the election of delegates to the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress from all of the large Russian-speaking

collectives. That was our first step away from confrontation. Differences of opinion should not be suppressed by power methods.

[Rozenshteyn] The 20th Congress is routine. In reality, however, there has never before been such an extraordinary congress in the Estonian Communist Party....

[Tamme] It is not fashionable nowadays to quote Lenin; nevertheless, "the party is sick." Yes, the CPSU is ill, and very seriously.

[Rozenshteyn] As a party historian, what is your attitude toward the attacks on Lenin?

[Tamme] For the most part, they are justified. However.... Some call for us to delete Lenin, and others—to return to him. These say: The real socialism is in Vladimir Ilyich's last articles. As a historian, I dare to assert that Lenin's articles—these, in his understanding, were a path to socialism, and not yet socialism. Lenin, as well, by the way, as both Marx and Engels, being wise people, developed their own concepts of the world based on reality. I am convinced that one should read Lenin, Marx, and Bukharin, and, probably, Kautskiy and Plekhanov in particular. Kautskiy turned out to be right in most respects. Marxism followed two channels—social democracy and bolshevism. And our many ills are rooted in a groundwork of ideological and theoretical reasoning, including bolshevism, that too credulously and naively relied on force. As early as the last century, Marx was warning: If the proletariat brings about social revolution when the sufficient objective conditions do not yet exist, such a monstrosity and so much bloodshed will result that it will be difficult to call it all socialism. Plekhanov also foresaw much, and warned the bolsheviks, although he could not even conceive of such monstrous scales. In short, one should nurture within oneself, and master, the past's theoretical heritage, and, for that purpose, should read differently today, not only Marx, Engels, and Lenin, but also Hegel, Kant (even Plato), and many other thinkers; read with understanding, study, analyze, and not pull out quotations. So it is. We cannot go back. We cannot offer to live through those 70 years again.

[Rozenshteyn] What do you expect of the 20th Congress?

[Tamme] At the beginning of March, we discussed the progress in preparation for the congress at the gorkom buro, and expressed our concern about how the preparation was proceeding in the republic. We also expressed this dissatisfaction of ours to V. Vyalyas, the Central Committee's first secretary. We know that work is being done, but a small circle knows about it. In the republic, by the way, there are about 100,000 communists who do not know what is going on. Here is one example: On 6 March, a meeting of the Estonian Communist Party's Central Committee Buro was held, at which the progress in preparation for the congress was examined. The discussion lasted for 2 hours, but the report in the newspaper next day fitted into a single line. The impression is created that certain circles in the republic's party leadership are dissociating themselves from this process

more and more, in proportion to the increase in republic communists' striving for the Estonian Communist Party's independence, and blocking the preparation for successful conducting of the 20th Congress. The only result will be: The Estonian Communist Party will cease to exist as a political force in the very near future. The communists in Tartu are losing their belief that the 20th Congress will settle anything. The consequence—mass departure from the party. Those who have constituted the so-called ballast will not leave, but the intellectual potential will. At the last bureau session, two-tenths of the Tartu University workers left the party—doctors and candidates of sciences, historians, and department heads. They no longer believe in the congress. The Estonian Party Conference was held 5 weeks ago. What has changed since that time? What condition is the party in today? A few individuals know the answers to these and other questions, and the rest are in complete ignorance.

[Rozenšteyn] Nevertheless, you did not answer the question. That being the case, I shall ask it in another way: Do you consider compromise and consolidation possible at the congress?

[Tamme] These are impossible today, and attempts to preserve the present KPE's integrity will lead to nothing good. It is necessary to achieve consolidation of the Estonian Communist Party's Estonian component with the communist party's democratic Russian-speaking component. I hope that breakup on the nationality principle will not occur, but breakup for ideological reasons will.

In conclusion, I should like to tell you this: Talk about its being generally unnecessary to go to the 28th CPSU Congress is no rarity now. I do not agree with that approach. It is necessary to go, with the Estonian Communist Party's platform and the mandate of its 20th Congress, to struggle for democratization of the entire CPSU. Indeed, the course of negotiations between the Baltic Republics and the center largely depend upon the democratization processes of the Soviet Union as a whole and the party. There is no other way to achieve the restoration of statehood—only negotiations. And it is necessary to listen to the others, to seek allies, and not sit quietly behind closed doors. The 28th Congress must become the congress of strategic decisions. If not, the CPSU will be doomed to total extinction, and very soon.

[Rozenšteyn] And in what capacity should we set out for Moscow? As observers?

[Tamme] I think we must go to work, to struggle, and not just to observe. In other words—for negotiations. Our relations with the CPSU—these are a process, the result of which depends upon the 20th and 28th Congresses' decisions. One may, of course, admit the possibility that the congress in Moscow will not make the radical decisions for which we are hoping. However, one may not throw up one's hands beforehand. Inasmuch as the acquiring of statehood will not occur all at once, and is

also a process, the 20th Congress is obliged to say unequivocally, by the end of the transition period, what will become of the Estonian Communist Party. Surely, in that time, every communist in the republic will voluntarily determine his or her attitude toward the party: toward both the Estonian Communist Party and the CPSU. In my opinion, the acquiring of independence for the Estonian Communist Party is just the beginning of its transformation into a modern-type left party. Today, indeed, we no longer talk about communism. And that is good. We should not remain utopian socialists at the end of the 20th century.

[Rozenšteyn] Thank you for the interview.

Latvian Communist Party Appeals for Consolidation

90UN1384B Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
23 Mar 90 p 1

[Appeal of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Central Committee Buro to the republic's communists]

[Text] The majority of the party organizations and the republic's communists understood the decision of the March Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on postponing the dates for the convocation of the 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress.

The work of the commissions formed by the Central Committee plenum for developing the Rules and Basic Principles of the Latvian Communist Party Program has become more active, and democratic elections of the delegates to the congress have begun in all the rayon and city party organizations.

In addition, the initiators and advocates for an independent Latvian Communist Party continue to prepare themselves actively for their constituent congress, which is set for 14 April. Using the party structures which have formed, they are rapidly conducting registration of supporters and an organizational committee is preparing program documents.

Such inconsistency and a desire for isolation in a period of preparations for the congress give rise on the one hand to bewilderment and confusion, and on the other to resentment on the part of communists, which leads to a still greater division within the party.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Buro views such actions as directed against the consolidation of the republic's communists.

The Central Committee Buro appeals to all the republic's communists to demonstrate maximum restraint and wisdom and to realize their historic responsibility for the fate of the party, the people of Latvia, and the fate of perestroika.

We have the same goal—a sovereign Latvia and an independent and democratic party of the left forces of Latvia. The unity of its ranks today means loyalty to the

common ideological basis: the policy of perestroika, the principles of humane and democratic socialism, and the priority of values common to all mankind.

We call upon the republic's communists to elect people who are able to exert a consolidating influence within the party and who are disposed to work in the interests of its fundamental renewal and democratization as delegates to the 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress.

Elected Latvian Deputies Registered

90UN1384E Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA
in Russian 23 Mar 90 p 1

[LATINFORM Report: "Registration of Parliament Deputies"]

[Text] A session of the Central Electoral Commission took place in the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium on 22 March. There were 166 people's deputy of our republic registered from the 170 elected. The Central Electoral Commission received protests concerning violations of the Law on Elections during the voting from four of the electoral districts—the 63d district of the Proletarskiy Rayon of Riga, the 135th and 137th districts of the Kraslavskiy Rayon, and the 148th district of Ludza. As a result, four of the elected deputies were not registered. Within 10 days from election day the Central Electoral Commission will investigate the disputes that have arisen and will make one of three possible decisions: Register the elected deputies, schedule runoff elections in these districts, or conduct repeat elections.

Latvian Procuracy's Informal Group, Crime, Rehabilitation Activities

90UN1072A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
3 Feb 90 p 4

[Report by LATINFORM correspondent B. Sebyakin: "The Public Prosecutor in a Changing World"]

[Text] This is just how one might briefly state the theme of the expanded session of the Latvian SSR Procuracy Board, although officially it was devoted to summaries of the previous year's work and new tasks. Right from the preamble of the report delivered by the republic's public prosecutor V. Dauksis, there was mention that the board's decisions and the all its practical activity must assume serious changes in policies, economics, and legislation. Citing a series of new tasks and problems for the procuracy's oversight in the current conditions, the speaker emphasized that, nevertheless, their principal emphases during the formation of the socialist law-governed state must remain guaranteeing the supremacy of law in all spheres of life, the law-based defense of the individual, the increased monitoring of the observance of citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms, and the legal rights of minors.

In connection with the changes in articles 6, 7, and 49 of the Constitution of the Latvian SSR, equal rights are

guaranteed and equal obligations are applied to all parties and public organizations. This means also that the Procuracy must be kept informed of the activities of public organizations and newly created parties and must introduce in a timely fashion to the Supreme Soviet of the republic and its Presidium proposals on measures for deterring violations by them of the Constitution and the laws. It is this sphere to which the work accomplished last year on monitoring the implementation of the resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR "On Activity Relating to the Creation of Citizens Committees" refers. As the reports and summaries have shown, citizens committees have not curtailed their anti-constitutional activity. On this question, the speaker said, the republic's procuracy has submitted information to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR with a proposal to curtail the activity of citizens committees and to provide for responsibility for its implementation.

Speaking about the crime situation in the republic, V. Dauksis noted that the number of crimes—30,000 for 1989, the highest for all postwar years—exceeded the figure for the preceding year by almost a third. Moreover, the coefficient of crime (the number per annum per 10,000 population) throughout the republic, but especially for Riga, was significantly higher than the average for the country. The number of serious crimes rose by almost 40%, premediated murders rose by more than 60%, and a great many more cases of aggravated assault, rape, violent robbery and theft, embezzlement and larceny were reported. At the same time, fewer cases were solved. So that the circumstances surrounding 33 murders were never fully disclosed!

Organized crime has taken over the cooperative sphere more and more, the republic public prosecutor established. This means both racketeering and the murder of cooperative members and embezzlement of raw materials and equipment. Organized crime groups are involved in embezzlement of video equipment and other scarce technology, speculation, fraud, violent robbery, and larceny. To extract criminal profit, organized groups are already using the solid connections with citizens of foreign countries that are characteristic of people in our republic. In Latvia's circumstances, it is the excessive profits of a specific group of cooperative members and persons extracting unearned income, as well as people's developed ties with other states, that have served as the material basis for the formation of organized crime.

Thus, in December, a murder of several persons by firearms was committed. The members of the victims' family were involved in cooperative activity, however, as came to light in an examination of the scene of the incident, their basic income, which was not insignificant, was acquired through illegal activity. In their private home a great quantity of scarce goods was discovered, antiques, including icons and antique clocks. In another criminal case—the murder of Borodina in Yurmalo—it has been established that she had obtained under the forged signature of the head bookkeeper a loan from the

Zhilsotsbank in the amount of 300,000 rubles for what was in fact a nonexistent cooperative.

Among the measures undertaken by the Procuracy for counteracting criminal elements, the speaker cited the creation of a group to fight organized crime. This measure should guarantee specialization and a high level of investigation into crimes committed by organized groups, oversight over investigations, support of government indictments, informational and analytical work using personal computers, cooperation in this work with the MVD and the KGB and with other lawkeeping and state organs, and secrecy in this work. This last is especially important, since opposition to investigative organs is becoming more and more marked, criminal brotherhoods are expressing interest in protection from workers in the police, the procuracy, and other organs. At the present time the republic procuracy is investigating two criminal cases involving leaks from the Supreme Court and People's Court of the Moskovskiy Rayon of Riga involving criminal cases against organized groups.

One problem in the fight against crime that has not been solved for a long time either in the republic or in the country as a whole is the prevention of recidivists and guaranteeing legality and humane conditions for those serving sentences in correctional facilities. As before, correctional labor colonies and medical-labor dispensaries retain an extremely tense atmosphere, and serious group crimes, hostage taking, have been committed many times. Recently a second "strike" went on in the investigation isolation cell—a hunger strike and refusal to participate in the investigation and the trial of those held under guard, the various demands they put forward, including claims that the investigation does not verify or respond to complaints. And this, admitted the republic's public prosecutor, has been confirmed in independent checks.

In listing the tasks for the procuracy's oversight, he reported that a great deal of work is being done on rehabilitating citizens unjustly repressed in the 1940s and 1950s. In 1989, 3,000 citizens appealed to the republic's procuracy on this account, and 5,000 people have been rehabilitated in all. However, the tempo of examination for this type of case has been very slow.

Oversight over the observance of environmental protection legislation, according to V. Daukshis, is especially active in Yurmā, Ventpils, Valmieriskiy and Rīžiskiy rayons. However, acknowledging the situation that has taken shape in the republic and the resolution passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR "On the Unsatisfactory Ecological Situation in the Republic and What Must Be Done to Remedy It," the procuracy could not describe the work as being at all satisfactory. There are particular claims in this area against the procuracies of Salduskiy and Dobelskiy rayons.

The republic's Minister of Internal Affairs B. Shteinbrik, after taking part in the discussion of the questions raised

in the speech, declared the Committee for the Fight Against Crime created last year still-born and called upon workers of lawkeeping organs present to bring about mutual cooperation through a coordinating soviet. He also called attention to the low indexes for the solving of murders, adding that this is the result of the procuracy investigators' overload and proposed organizing police assistance in this work. Using concrete examples, the minister demonstrated the manifest and, in his opinion, excessive liberalism shown to criminals, who, not locked up under guard, commit more and more thefts, robberies, and other unlawful acts.

It is time for us in the republic to think about delimiting the competence of the constitutional court and the procuracy, said the deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR T. Savitskaya. She called attention as well to the fact that the republic's public prosecutor does not make sufficient use of his right of legislative initiative. T. Savitskaya called upon the public prosecutors from the first sessions of the new local soviets to bring about serious procuracy oversight in order to keep inexperienced people from mistaken steps. So that there is no arbitrariness, which could lead to mass dissatisfaction, and so that there is no need later at a session of the Supreme Soviet to rescind any decisions made by local organs of power.

The republic's KGB chairman, S. Zukul, who spoke during the discussion, shared his department's experience in the fight against organized crime and economic crimes.

Deputy Chairman of the Soviet of Ministers of the Latvian SSR L. Bartkevich declared that recently there had been problems with the supply of food and building materials. But despite the complicated situation, the Soviet of Ministers is preparing a resolution and working out plans for how to enter into a phase of implementing the new economic policy. It is hoped that the public prosecutor will make his own contribution to this and will construct his own activity taking into account public opinion, the opinion of the population. What concerns me as a citizen, said L. Bartkevich, is that in some cities and rayons the principle of the irreversibility of punishment is not observed. After all, in some places 60-80% of the most serious crimes are not solved. This means that the lawkeeping organs, including the procuracy, do not possess a sufficient degree of professionalism. The deputy chairman of the Soviet of Ministers promised the procuracy the assistance and help of the government in resolving the issues of strengthening the material-technical base.

In closing, the floor was given to Yu. Shadrin, a board member of the USSR Procuracy, who recounted in detail to those gathered the results of the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference on elaborating the concept of procuracy oversight under current conditions held in Moscow. Then he analyzed the activities of the Latvian SSR Procuracy for the year past, also noting the low level of serious crimes solved.

In accordance with the conclusions of the expanded session, the republic procuracy's board passed a resolution setting forth the concrete tasks of the structural subdivisions in executing the stated tasks.

Riga Gorkom Member Expelled

90UN1257A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
6 Mar 90 p 4

[LATINFORM report: "At the Riga City Party Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A plenum of the Riga city party committee [gorkom] took place on 3 March to consider the political situation that has taken shape in the city party organization since the 24 February conference. Tactics were proposed at the plenum for actions by the city's party committees and organizations. The plenum noted that those who attended the conference, which included communists from the city's party organization, took the final step to separate the Latvian Communist Party from the CPSU and effect an ideological-political break with it. The decisions of this conference do not reflect the opinion of the majority of the city's communists, and have been negatively perceived in many party organizations and labor collectives.

The plenum emphasized that this kind of activity by the organizers of the conference is aimed at weakening the party ranks rather than strengthening them. A special danger is seen in the fact that this delineation between communists is taking place on the eve of the elections to the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. The party gorkom plenum therefore resolved as follows: to consider the decision of the conference of supporters of the Latvian Communist Party outside the CPSU to convene a congress of the Independent Latvian Communist Party for 14 April 1990 to be at variance with the CPSU rules and aimed at organizational and political separation from the CPSU. In this connection the election of delegates to the 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress will be carried out only from among communists who support the CPSU platform.

The plenum is also proposing to the party organizations that include most of the supporters of an independent Latvian Communist Party that communists upholding the CPSU platform withdraw from the elected organs and form their own party organizations, register with the party raykom, and conduct their work independently.

It was also reported at the plenum, that by a decision of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Buro, an account has been opened for the Latvian Communist Party Riga gorkom to transfer party dues from the city's primary party organizations. Taking into account the situation that has taken shape in the Communist Party, the plenum considers it necessary to bring forward the convening of the 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress and proposed that it be held in April or May.

It was decided at the plenum to recognize the full powers of the transitional raykom and bureau in the Kirovskoy party organization supporting the CPSU platform. It was also decided at the plenum to adopt a decision recommending that L. Zile and M. Rukmane be expelled from the party for undermining the ideological-political foundations of the CPSU and for acts aimed at splitting the Latvian Communist Party. By decision of the plenum M. Rukmane was also expelled from the party gorkom. On behalf of the many primary party organizations in the city, the party gorkom plenum expressed no confidence in Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Buro members Ya. Vagris, V. Sobolev, I. Kezbers, I. Priyeditis, and V. Bresis.

Riga City Apparatus Shortcomings Criticized

90UN1141A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
22 Feb 90 p 4

[Report: "Results of Government Commission Examination of Activities of Riga Gorispolkom Apparatus on Restructuring Work Style and Methods"]

[Text] [Typewritten note] **Esteemed Readers! On 4 February elections to the Riga City Soviet of People's Deputies were over, and the commission of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers which examined the restructuring of the work style and methods of the Riga Gorispolkom wishes to inform the readers [words struck out: 'the gorispolkom officials and newly-elected deputies'] on the results of its work.**

It was necessary to turn to the newspaper for assistance, not only so that the readers would be informed of this, but also because A. Rubiks refused to meet with the members of the commission and hear their opinions.

**A. Chepanis, commission chairman
05.02.90**

The apparatus of the Riga Gorispolkom and its leaders became actively involved in the restructuring processes which began after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The Riga City Soviet of People's Deputies and the Riga Gorispolkom energetically set about solving the problems of ensuring the city's comprehensive economic and social development, increasing managerial effectiveness, improving administration and planning, and more completely satisfying the people's needs. To these ends, a number of important program decisions were drawn up and adopted.

Ways were defined for the city's economic and social development, taking into consideration the balanced and proportional development of the public utilities infrastructure, proportional growth of material production, housing construction and other construction projects in the social sphere. A system of measures was established entitled "The Enterprise in the City," which included working out a city balance of labor resources, setting a ceiling on that basis of the number of workers at enterprises, and the adoption of normative planning while

defining the contribution of each enterprise or organization to the city's development. On the basis of this system, in 1986 the gorispolkom carried out a labor-intensive project for limiting the number of workers at 1,900 enterprises, which was subsequently approved by the republic Council of Ministers for the 12th Five Year Plan.

The Riga Gorispolkom drew up a comprehensive special-purpose program called "Housing 2000," began work on comprehensive block-by-block housing repair, set up a system of redesigning and reconstruction of communal apartments, formed young-people's housing complexes, and markedly expanded the material base for development of popular sports.

Subsequently, however, beginning in 1988, the indicators for developing the branches of city's facilities and projects in the social sphere got worse. Thus, the proportion of assets allocated for developing projects in the non-production sphere declined, as did the overall volume of capital investments (1987, 28.1 percent; 1988, 25.2 percent; and 1989, 22.5 percent).

The Riga Gorispolkom and the Latvian SSR Main Construction Administration permitted serious shortcomings in the development of housing facilities in the republic's capital. Whereas in the first years of the 12th Five Year Plan there was observable growth in the introduction of housing by state and cooperative enterprises and the public (351,000 meters² in 1986, and 367,300 meters² total [useful] space); while in 1988, only 287,700 meters² was introduced, and 307,400 in 1989.

Housing is still one of the most critical problems in the city. The building rates achieved for housing are not supporting completion of one of the most important tasks—to offer every family its own apartment by the year 2000 ("Housing 2000"). In the 12th Five Year Plan, average annual housing introduced per 10,000 citizens in Riga will be 3,699 meters² of total space; whereas at the same time in Tallinn the figures are 4,410 meters² and 5,528 meters² in Vilnius. And there are serious shortcomings in major repairs and housing maintenance.

At the beginning of 1990 there were 78,000 families on the housing list in Riga; in 1989 there were 75,000.

In 1989 apartments were offered to 5,140 families; however, only 24 percent of this number were allocated under the "Housing 90" program.

Measures envisaged under the slogan, "Our Riga—My City—My Pride," adopted by resolution of the 8 April 1986 session of the Riga City Soviet of People's Deputies, have practically not been carried out: no effective forms have been worked out for public participation in work on housing and grounds maintenance, and the role of the public and housing committee councils in working with the public at their place of residence has slackened.

There are serious shortcomings in organizing the work of trade and public catering enterprises. Capital investments allocated to the Riga Gorispolkom for the development of this sector for 1988 and 1989 have not been assimilated. The level of fulfillment of these plans at the beginning of the five-year plan amounted to 90 percent; but in 1989, it was only 88.4 percent.

Uninterrupted supply of essential foodstuffs to the populace has not been provided: supply of dairy products and bread to the citizens of Riga has gotten worse. The actions of the ispolkom apparat on administration of trade is most vividly characterized by the data gathered in sociological research: only 5.9 of those surveyed were satisfied with this work. At the same time, the position of first deputy chairman of the Riga Gorispolkom, which is responsible for these questions, has been vacant for five months now.

Work of the gorispolkom apparat for developing the socio-cultural sphere has not been carried out with the proper initiative. Program decisions taken by the gorispolkom for developing the material-technical base of general educational schools and children's pre-school institutions; sports and cultural-educational facilities; and walk-in polyclinics and hospital facilities, have not been carried out on-time or to the fullest. Necessary measures to obtain cooperation and support for these purposes from industrial enterprises and organizations have not been taken.

In conditions of a severe shortage of places in the city's schools and kindergartens, planned major repairs and regular maintenance are being carried out very slowly and the work is of poor quality. For example, Secondary School No 26 has been under repair for five years; Secondary School No 8, for six years; and Kindergartens No 41 and 33 are still waiting for repair work to begin, and they have been closed for a year. All of this leads to the situation in which the number of pupils attending school on the second shift is increasing. At the beginning of the 1988/89 academic year there were 21,200 (21.2 percent), whereas in the 1985/86 academic year there were 15,900 (16.5 percent). And the waiting list for a place in kindergartens is not getting any shorter.

These and other serious shortcomings in the development of urban facilities, as well as shortcomings in the work style and methods of the gorispolkom apparat were the reason for the fact that since late 1988 the Latvian CP Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the republic Council of Ministers have begun to receive many letters, which address critical remarks to Gorispolkom Chairman Comrade A.P. Rubiks. A large number of these letters contained requests and even demands to relieve him of the post he occupies.

In order to study the opinion of the public, the deputies, the ispolkom apparat, and also administrators of ministries and agencies on the work style and methods of the

gorispolkom, citizens of the city of Riga and administrators of ispolkoms, ministries and agencies were questioned: 29 percent of the officials of ispolkoms, ministries and departments surveyed, and 54 percent of the citizens, pointed to the extreme formalism and bureaucracy in the work of the gorispolkom; and a portion of them believe that the position of certain administrators on the gorispolkom does not serve to consolidate society, and leads to worsening social and national tensions in the city. Only 9.5 percent of the citizens of Riga surveyed believe that there is democratization and glasnost in the work of the gorispolkom; and only 7.2 percent of those surveyed believe that principles of social justice are observed in its work.

The results of a survey of the public opinion, and that of a number of administrators, on a broad spectrum of qualities of the leading officials of the gorispolkom, are very important. Among the eight gorispolkom officials evaluated were the chairman, all deputy chairmen and the secretary. The survey pointed out that the gorispolkom chairman, although he is not a bad organizer, is quite often uninhibited and tactless in his dealings with officials at ministries and agencies, and especially with his subordinate officials on the apparat and at the rayispolkom. The gorispolkom chairman has evolved an authoritarian leadership style, under which his opinion is indisputable and cannot be criticized by anyone. In the chairman's absence, especially since he has been elected a People's Deputy of the USSR, the ispolkom has difficulty resolving important questions: deputy chairmen and administrators of structural subdivisions as a rule do not take independent decisions. And the officials on the gorispolkom lack confidence in the expedience and correctness of their actions.

A work style such as this is not conducive to a creative atmosphere, and goes a long way to explain the existing difficulties in staffing the ispolkom apparat with cadres capable of creative work.

Frequent turnover of cadres in its apparat also has a negative influence on the work of the gorispolkom. And 40 percent of the officials on the apparat have not mastered the state language.

The lack of a clear delineation of functions between the rayispolkoms and the gorispolkom is hindering the initiative of the officials on the apparat.

In the gorispolkom, decisions on many important questions are reached in a narrow circle of administrators, or by the chairman himself.

There are instances of an oversimplified and non-cooperative approach to the solution of many problems vitally important for the city and the rayons, which sometimes leads to violation of the law.

A certain amount of tension between the leadership of the gorispolkom and the rayispolkoms is brought about by decisions taken individually by gorispolkom leaders on providing housing to individual citizens. Nor is the

situation helped by the gorispolkom's allocation in these situations of special-purpose housing, since planned apartments are not allocated. For example, on 14 August 1989, Oktyabrskiy Rayispolkom received an order from the gorispolkom, "to resolve positively the housing problem" of Comrade S.M. Kudryavtsev, an instructor at the Military School imeni Ya. Alksnis, who along with his wife and two children occupy two rooms with 37.1 meters² of useful space, and is not on the list for a communal apartment.

On 7 April 1989, at the 9th Session of the Soviet of People's Deputies, upon recommendation of the gorispolkom, a decision was made and approved on raising the rent for non-residential facilities for enterprises, organizations and agencies—although this question falls under the jurisdiction of the republic government.

There are also shortcomings in the organization for carrying out the decisions of higher authorities, as well as the gorispolkom's own decisions.

For example, during a ten-month period in 1989, the gorispolkom received 16 resolutions and 7 instructions from the republic government, containing a mission for the rayon or city ispolkoms; and 8 resolutions and 11 instructions containing missions specifically for the Riga gorispolkom. For the remaining documents, in sending them to his deputies and leaders, administrations and departments, the gorispolkom chairman limited himself to resolutions like, "for guidance," "for execution," or "for monitoring," or simply indicated their names. Such resolutions do not mobilize the apparat to carry out the decisions of higher authorities.

We shall cite an example. Although the gorispolkom's work on carrying out Decision No 38 of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers of 7 February 1989, "On Unsatisfactory Construction of Residential Housing, Public Education, Health-Care and Environmental Protection Facilities for 1988, and Measures for Ensuring Completion of Construction of these Projects in 1989," was deemed unsatisfactory, which was clearly pointed out to Gorispolkom Deputy Chairman Comrade I.N. Ulmanis; but, Comrade A.P. Rubiks limited himself to assigning it to Comrade I.N. Ulmanis on 11 February 1989, "for guidance."

The gorispolkom examined the question associated with the government's resolution No 46 of 14 February 1989, "On Measures for Halting Unjustified Mechanical Population Growth and Regulating the Processes of Migration to the Latvian SSR," only in December 1989.

In 1989 several hundred people from other regions of the country were registered for permanent residence in Riga. Consequently, city budget receipts in connection with this should have been increased by several million rubles; but in fact no such assets were received by 1 January 1990.

The program for ensuring the functioning of the Latvian language in state, public, cultural and other spheres, and priority measures for implementing this program, are not being carried out.

Shortcomings in the structure of the apparat have a negative influence on the work style of the gorispolkom leadership.

The structure of the ispolkom needs improvement.

For example, since the City Housing Administration was abolished, a number of its functions have not yet been transferred to anyone. Citizens who are not satisfied with decisions of rayon organizations are forced to appeal to republic-level authorities.

"Komplekt," the commercial organization created for material-technical supply in conditions of a severe shortage of materials, has placed the housing-operation organizations in a hopeless situation. There is a lack of clarity with respect to the numbers and types of materials allocated according to funds for housing and other organizations. The commercial price was arbitrarily increased from 0.5 percent to 30 percent. The city economic organization is suffering losses, and material supply has gotten a lot worse.

Recently relations have become worse between the gorispolkom leadership and branch ministries and agencies dealing with questions of economic, social and cultural development, and with creative societies as well. Thus, businesslike contacts have been broken with the State Committee on Culture, which is hindering objective analysis of phenomena in cultural processes in the life of the city, and affirmation of the priority of spirituality, moral-ethical and aesthetic criteria in the social life of the city.

The gorispolkom has not succeeded in finding an effective form of dealing with citizen appeals: as a result, during the years 1988-1989, there was a significant increase in the number of citizens' complaints sent to higher authorities.

There are shortcomings in organizing the execution of assignments contained in documents from the republic government, as well as those in the ispolkom's own resolutions. As of 15 October 1989, eight assignments had not been carried out, and 527 assignments had been carried out after the time limit had expired.

Executive discipline of officials on the gorispolkom apparat is at a low level. According to regulation, a decision taken at ispolkom sessions must be drawn up within two days, and sent out within two days after it is signed. The inspection showed that the processing and dispatching of certain decisions were unacceptably drawn out, and they were executed within a period of 20 days or more.

As a result of mistakes in the ispolkom's planning work, there has been a decline in the number of suitable

prospective questions for discussion at gorispolkom sessions. Important questions have gone practically unexamined, such as migration and labor resources, domestic services, public catering, and the work style and methods of subordinate ispolkoms and their leaders.

The aforementioned shortcomings in economic activity, in the development of the social sphere, and in organizational-mass work testify to the fact that the apparat and the leadership of the Riga Gorispolkom, its departments and administrations, have not restructured their activities on improving their work style and methods, and they have not assured the fulfillment of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures for Further Increasing the Role and Raising the Responsibility of Soviets of People's Deputies for Accelerating Socio-Economic Development in the light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress."

Landsbergis 15 March Press Conference

90UN13194 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
17 Mar 90 p 1

[ELTA report: "Press Conference in the Supreme Council"]

[Text] A press conference was held on 15 March in the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council. Questions from local and foreign journalists were answered by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the republic Supreme Council; Kazimeras Moteka and Cheslovas Stankys, deputy chairmen; Lyudvikas Sabutis, secretary of the Supreme Council; and Deputy Virgilijus Čepaitis.

Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council, familiarized the journalists with the political situation in Lithuania, the deputies' activity, and the problems which are being tackled in the Supreme Council at the present time. He reported that formation of the republic government would begin at a plenary meeting of the session on Saturday.

A number of various problems confronts the Supreme Council. We have to deal with questions which concern both the situation in Lithuania and Lithuania's new situation in a world context, he observed. Questions connected with human rights and people's fate have to be tackled also. The speaker emphasized that questions concerning young men of Lithuania who are currently serving in the army of another state are particularly important now.

Speaking of the situation in the republic, Vytautas Landsbergis said that although the majority of people look to the future joyfully and with hope, there has been and to some extent now remains a certain public concern. This is understandable since a change in the structure of power and in power itself in Lithuania is an extraordinary matter. He emphasized that the main thing now is ensuring stability within Lithuania. The

majority and minority in parliament are not enemies, even less is there hostility between the leaders of this political force or the other. V. Landsbergis reported that Lithuanian television had recorded and would show his dialogue as chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council with Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

Having touched on aspects of the stability of Lithuania in the international context, Česlovas Stankys, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council, emphasized that the main thing now is to create the conditions which would accelerate international recognition of the Lithuanian republic.

Lyudvikas Sabutis, secretary of the Supreme Council, familiarized the journalists with parliament's activity after the plenary meetings had ended. The working groups of deputies are currently preparing individual bills. Draft laws on the status of the deputies, on parliament and on the formation of the government would seem very important. Draft laws on all other state institutions and a whole package of laws of an economic nature will then be prepared.

The journalists were familiarized with the activity of the "Sajudis" Deputies' Club by Deputy Virgilijus Čepaitis. He emphasized that the purpose of the members of the club is to ensure that all that was declared on 11 March becomes a reality of Lithuania.

In answer to the question of what gives rise to the greatest danger for Lithuania, V. Landsbergis replied that he could not pick out anything in particular. According to him, there are only phenomena which could complicate Lithuania's way toward real independence. Take if only the attempt to raise the question of a revision of Lithuania's national borders. This issue would hardly be raised directly by the USSR Government or, say, the Government of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] since this would be at variance with the fundamental guidelines of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference and would be in flagrant violation of them. But raising such a question signifies, perhaps, a desire to afford Moscow, and other states also, a pretext for playing an unfavorable game for Lithuania. Attempts are also being made to stage mass meetings against our legitimate self-determination. Certain organizations which have been created artificially are resorting to this. They wish to give the impression that not everyone approves of Lithuania's self-determination. We do not intend banning such meetings if their organizers have obtained permission to hold a mass meeting. But such meetings will hardly change anything.

A journalist from Leningrad expressed concern for the fate of Russian-speaking citizens and mixed Russian-Lithuanian families living in Lithuania and put a question in this connection in a tone of voice testifying to nothing other than the great danger which has arisen for these people. V. Landsbergis replied unhesitatingly that

not only was there no such danger, there had not been and such would not arise since Lithuania's laws protect the rights of all its citizens equally. As far as mixed families are concerned, there are such, and deciding their future is their personal concern.

In response to a question concerning a discussion with several high-ranking servicemen of the Vilnius Garrison, V. Landsbergis explained that at this meeting he was handed an official protest from the command of the Baltic Military District. The district command was protesting legislative instruments enacted by the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council according to which all laws of the USSR pertaining to the military service obligation are declared invalid and the articles of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code and the Code of Administrative Offenses which apply to military service are suspended. Following the discussion with the servicemen, a certain mutual understanding was reached. And what about the draft of young men from Lithuania into the Soviet Army? The chairman of the Supreme Council also had a discussion with Military Commissar Algimantas Visotskis, who explained that he was obliged to carry out the drafting of our young men into this army. In our view, V. Landsbergis observed, such activity would be unlawful. The parties conferred on how to avoid a conflict situation. This is a situation of the transitional period, V. Landsbergis emphasized.

One further question to the chairman of the Supreme Council. What role in the new Lithuanian Government will be assigned Algirdas Brazauskas?

"This will be decided by the Supreme Council on Saturday most likely," V. Landsbergis replied. At the same time he expressed the opinion that A. Brazauskas' role, with regard to his experience and contacts, would be significant and that it would be used for the good of Lithuania.

Lithuanian Decree Alters DOSAAF Status

90UN1437C Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
24 Mar 90 p 1

[Decree of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic on the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy in Lithuania]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic hereby decrees:

1. To establish that the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy [DOSAAF], and the enterprises and organizations under its jurisdiction in Lithuania are to be turned over to the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian Republic.

2. To instruct the government of the Lithuanian Republic to temporarily exercise state control over the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy located in Lithuania until its next conference.

3. This decree goes into effect from the moment of its adoption.

V. LANDSBERGIS, chairman,
Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic.
Vilnius, 22 March 1990

Lithuanian Deserters Subject to Prosecution Under Soviet Law

90UM0460A Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by TASS Correspondent M. Zakharchuk: "Reestablishing Legitimacy"]

[Text] "Based on the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Resolution on the invalidity of the 12 October 1967 USSR Law On Universal Military Service on the territory of the Lithuanian Republic, Serviceman Lukoshyavichyus is under the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Commission on Military Service Affairs.

A telegram of this content on a government form arrived addressed to the commander of a military unit. The location of one more of the unit's AWOL [Absent Without Leave] soldiers became known.

According to conditions in the Republic on 29 March, there are more than 250 servicemen who have taken this illegal step. Speeches by certain representatives of Lithuanian government institutions in the press and on television and radio promote this negative process. Therefore, the USSR Armed Forces General Staff has established a special commission that is engaged in finding AWOL soldiers and returning them to their duty locations.

Lieutenant General F. M. Markovskiy, deputy chief of the Main Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, talked about the commission's work at the request of a TASS correspondent:

"Our officers visited the families of 97 servicemen. In 40 cases, the parents unconditionally assured us that their children, having succumbed to the provocation, will continue service and will also complete it and return home with the feeling of a debt paid in full. At the same time, some of them demanded guarantees from us that [their sons] would not be charged with criminal wrongdoing for what they have done. In 42 families, the situation is as follows: Fathers and mothers bitterly said that they are sincerely ready to help us but they themselves do not know where their sons are. None of our attempts at persuasion and none of our appeals for good sense and parental wisdom affected the parents of 15 deserters.

"I must say something else. Being thoroughly familiar with living conditions and lifestyles of the servicemen's closest relatives, we arrived at the conclusion that some young people have to be given the opportunity to terminate their service in the Armed Forces. Obviously this solution will be legally formulated in each specific case.

"And still more. Fifty one servicemen, who were AWOL from their military units, have already been returned to their duty locations. I have just been informed that several more servicemen have arrived at Vilkavishskiy, Ukmergskiy, Anikshchyayskiy Rayvoyenkomats [Regional Military Commissariats]. They all expressed their readiness to continue serving in the Soviet Army.

"These are the statistics. They to a definite degree also reflect the arrangement of political forces and the state of social consciousness of the republic's residents. We have the basis to assume that many people in Lithuania are beginning to understand that the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 12 March and other normative acts do not release servicemen from criminal liability, including citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, for being absent without leave from their military units."

The following was reported to a TASS Correspondent at the USSR Armed Forces General Staff:

The leadership of the USSR Ministry of Defense has decided not to file criminal cases with regard to servicemen of Lithuanian nationality who are absent without leave from military units and who have voluntarily stated their readiness to continue service to Republic Voenkomats.

Furthermore, it was stressed that individuals who continue to maliciously violate the USSR Law on Universal Military Service will be sought, detained, and criminally punished in accordance with appropriate laws.

Lithuanian Soldier Comments on Loyalty to Soviet Army

90UM0460B Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 5 Apr 90 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Soviet Army Private Edvinas Jonovich Lindzhyus of Lithuania by Lieutenant Colonel N. Polosukhin, Kiev Military District: "So We Are Not Ashamed Tomorrow"]

[Text] There are quite a few conversations in soldiers circles about events in Lithuania. And, listening one more time as 20-year-old lads soberly evaluate the complex political situation, you think: If you could teach someone another newly appeared political buzz word. Teach them common sense and a responsible attitude toward life.

In confirmation of my thought, I want to conduct a conversation with Private E. Lindzhyus (with his consent). To some extent, Edvinas' statements are characteristic of the frame of mind of many soldiers and sergeants—natives of Lithuania who are serving at our unit. And 32 of them are serving with us.

For reference: Edvinas Jonovich Lindzhyus was drafted into the Soviet Army in November 1989 from the Lithuanian SSR. Edvinas' father is a skilled railroad

track repairman, his mother is a cleaning woman at a kindergarten, and his brother is a seventh grade student. Before being drafted into the Army, Edvinas worked as a longshoreman and, after graduation from a technological technicum, as a shift chief at a chemical enterprise. He joined the Komsomol in 1987. He has been at his very best side during his service. He was promoted to the military rank of private. Edvinas is a member of the battalion VLKSM [Komsomol] Committee.

[Polosukhin] Edvinas, what do you think, why is the Lithuanian Parliament attempting to present desertion as nearly a heroic deed of a true citizen?

[Lindzhyus] It is difficult for me to answer this question. I think that our respected deputies are really hurrying and want, as they say in Russia, to put the cart before the horse. At the same time, my small republic has been a part of the Union for 50 years, and is tied to Russia, the Ukraine, the Transcaucasus, and Central Asia by hundreds of threads. Maybe, we have also not lived together very well during these years and we are not very rich but I understand there would not be much in Lithuania if the republics did not help one another. Can we really cut off all ties without taking other interests into account? It is the same case with [military] service. Our countrymen have served in the Soviet Army for decades and suddenly they are appealing to Lithuanian soldiers to leave their units. It is easy to introduce confusion into a soldier's spirit but who will defend the violated oath later? Nevertheless, some people are leaving their duty locations...

[Polosukhin] Do your countrymen really not understand what kind of trouble they can end up in?

[Lindzhyus] Of course, many understand but they think that they will be lucky and things will work out... Others want to make a political career in Lithuania and some simply are morally and physically not prepared for military service. I think that some people in the background of events that are occurring in my republic are out for themselves and others simply want to avoid service.

[Polosukhin] Some Lithuanian soldiers are inclined toward rash deeds under the influence of letters from home. And what are your parents and friends writing to you, Edvinas if it is not a secret?

[Lindzhyus] My parents write: Serve honorably, like you should, and do not do anything stupid. And I know that the same things are being written to some of my countrymen. And my friends are not agitating for me to desert the Army. You know Lithuanians have always considered service in the Army to be honorable and obligatory for every man.

[Polosukhin] As justification for appeals to Lithuanian soldiers to desert, the new leaders of Lithuania frequently set forth the following arguments: They say that both commanders and fellow servicemen taunt and degrade the human dignity of our young men...

[Lindzhyus] It is possible that there are such cases somewhere but I am not sure that in those places where "dedovshchina" [hazing of conscripts] exists it is particularly directed at Lithuanians. And not everything is easy for female citizens in collectives. But during six months service in our unit, I do not know of even one case of a disrespectful attitude toward Lithuanians. Do not think that I am afraid of something or that I am hiding something. Yes, we have our problems with inter-ethnic education. But this is what I want to say: It is sometimes hard to explain to a person what the value of inter-ethnicity is if the nationalists have already managed to appeal to his loyalty.

[Polosukhin] Edvinas, you must be troubled by the question: What will happen to Lithuania tomorrow?

[Lindzhyus] I do not have a lot of life experience to judge how my people would live better—in a renewed federation or independently. But I am firmly convinced that we do not have to do today what we will be ashamed of tomorrow as it was with the appeal to us, Lithuanian soldiers, to be absent without leave from our units. I think that my people and their leaders have enough political sobriety to properly react to the President of the USSR's appeal to manifest restraint and wisdom and to not lose the respect and friendship of those peoples with whom we have lived side by side for many years.

Landsbergis 26 March Speech to Council

90UN1453A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
28 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council, at Supreme Council 26 March morning session: "The Political Situation"]

[Text] In recent days, an increasingly tense factor in our political life has been the presence of troops in Lithuania. That which we previously simply felt and ascertained as fact—the presence of troops not based on any kinds of treaties, but which the people called occupation forces, is now being graphically demonstrated as being just that: The troops themselves decide what they are to do in Lithuania, although it is possible they do have an order from the political leadership of the Soviet Union on how to behave. But it is not known whether these orders are specific or whether this can be considered the power of the military command to carry out its decisions by itself. We are not getting an answer to this question. In the meantime, we have already seen that the troops have begun to implement rather strange functions. They have begun to interfere in the debates of political organizations regarding property in Lithuania, as if the army can perform as an arbiter and saber-rattling grants greater rights. Of course, in that country they think that right is on the side of might. And we see this rather frequently, and it is emphasized with respect to us. But displaying weapons to strengthen one's rights in an argument over the ownership of a home is reminiscent of the code of the "wild" West!

When we saw that they were occupying buildings and that an armed guard was appearing there who did not allow civilians to enter the building, to work there, etc., a certain vagueness surfaced about how long this escalation will continue and which buildings could be occupied in the future. The military who were there replied that they are protecting the buildings that belong to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. When we met late yesterday with the command of the Vilnius garrison (which now consisted not only of the Vilnius garrison but also of high-ranking military commanders who were sent to Lithuania, even General of the Army Varennikov, commander in chief of the ground forces), the military's answer was extremely simple: They are occupying the buildings at the request of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania on the CPSU platform. We did not get an answer to the question whether the army will come out to help any other political or public organization that asks it for help in acquiring a building or premises. Apparently, such versions are also possible in today's rather interesting life. Although we were worried whether an assault would begin, for example, on the building of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee, which is now partly the building of other organizations, and whether this building for example might not be taken in an assault, we were able to get only one assurance from General Varennikov that this night, meaning last night, no more buildings would be seized. Today they were supposed to explain the list of claims of the "platformists" that the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union were helping to satisfy. Yesterday we did not get a clear answer to the question as to whether the list of claims was exhausted by the three buildings you know about: the former gorkom [city party committee] building, the former building of the Higher Party School which was given by the Council of Ministers to the pedagogical institute, and the House of Political Education. Of course, we can take a somewhat detached view on these interparty problems with whose resolution the armed forces have been connected in a strange way. But at the same time, seriously, because each such partial and demonstrative conflict can spill over into a physical conflict between people. We absolutely do not need this. What is not known is that perhaps this is precisely what someone needs. Certain features attest to the fact that there is an effort to repeat a scenario that creates a situation of uncertainty and fear. In an atmosphere of threats, people can begin to prepare for defense, and they will then be accused of wanting to be able or being able to defend themselves.

The demand to turn in hunting and training rifles and all the others used for sports and training purposes apparently emphasizes: You see where the danger is. It seems that columns of armored personnel carriers are not dangerous to the people and that the danger seemingly is represented by training rifles or double-barreled shotguns. Thus, efforts are being made to create the appearance that something similar to the Caucasus situation has emerged in Lithuania. As a matter of fact any political tension is much more dangerous there. This

does not exist in Lithuania. But information is being blocked, and it is being replaced by false information about Lithuania in order to justify the introduction of a special situation or the use of the armed forces without any kind of a sufficiently convincing pretext for this. Thus, psychological pressure and a war of nerves can become an element not only of a political game but can also be manifested as preparation for action and anticipation of provocations.

There are also certain signs—statements appearing here and there that Lithuanian volunteers supposedly are being invited to some rally or demonstration in Vilnius. In response to Mikhail Gorbachev, I explained that this was an initiative to register people who were ready, should it become necessary, to assist in maintaining public order. This is not any kind of formation of organized detachments and, more than this, there could not be any question of any kind of armed groups, as they are trying to represent it. And so these supposed volunteers are being invited to a rally, and it is not known on whose anonymous initiative. Of course, this is not an idea of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, or "Sajudis." It seems that this is needed by someone else. Therefore I would like to add to what was already said yesterday on television, and to warn people not to gather in crowds, not to take part in such a rally, and not to give reason for interpreting it as some kind of danger. We must also be extremely attentive to the mass media. Official commentators talk on the television about Russian troops and a Red flood, etc. Identification of units of the Soviet Army with one nationality should not take place, and this cannot be approved because what commentators pronounce can serve as a rebuke of the entire republic.

How does our political situation look relative to the problems of the Soviet Union? Lithuania is a problem of the Soviet Union inherited from the time of Stalin, and the method we have proposed for its rightful resolution is receiving extensive comments in the various republics of the Soviet Union. Mass rallies were held in many places in support of Lithuania. We are also supported by democratic organizations of Russia. Alas, there is no understanding at the highest leadership echelons of the country. Mikhail Gorbachev did not sign the ill-fated resolution of the USSR People's Deputies in which baseless claims are made on the sovereignty of countries seized in 1940. But some later documents show that he was drawn into a definite diplomatic situation, uncomfortable for him, in which it is not that easy to start negotiations. Apparently, some formulas have to be found. Now the question, undoubtedly, is about a dialogue and a clarification of the situation. A kind of dialogue is going on now through our delegates in Moscow by way of an exchange of opinions. The entire civilized world urgently proposes that negotiations be started. In the last few days, Pope John Paul II, French President Mitterrand, and, finally, the White House in Washington have been making determined statements. We warned that the Soviet Union is not keeping the

promises it made earlier not to use force and not to threaten the use of force. At the same time, the threats and pressures are apparent. It is possible that we will not have to wait so long until a more direct form of dialogue will begin. But we see that efforts aimed at such a possibility are being torpedoed in the central press. Yesterday's issue of the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA comments on our desire to begin official negotiations as some kind of an attempt to get Moscow to sit down at the negotiating table. We are not trying to force anyone to do anything. We only see how these matters have to be resolved. Indeed, the whole world sees that they must be resolved in this way and in no other way. But one of the central newspapers is making common cause with the pressure of reactionary circles on Mikhail Gorbachev that he not start negotiations. In other words, they are complicating his diplomatic situation, which is not simple in any case, and we must in the end understand this and not have any great reproaches against the leader of the Soviet Union regarding the fact that he did not that very instant start negotiations with us the next day. The central press is conscientiously searching for disagreements among us and for a possible split. In an extensive publication the newspaper I am talking about widely quotes and comments on an article by Arvidas Yuozaitis, agreeing with this article as a correct evaluation of events. They quibble about details, in particular about the fact that the representatives of union ministries who arrived were supposed to conduct specific negotiations on economic questions not with Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene but with her deputy, Algirdas Brazauskas. It seems that is what was agreed to. But by emphasizing those whom Moscow singles out personally, they want to create a split in the work of the top echelon of our government. We must also always be ready for something like this.

An unusual perception is shown in the treatment of our sovereignty in various aspects. Take at least the TASS report about the fact that diplomatic and consular representatives of the USSR were instructed to issue visas for entry into Lithuania. I suppose that these are selective visas and not on a general principle: Anyone who wants a visa gets it without any kind of interference. This means that the Soviet Union again usurps not only the right to issue, and the substantial currency income associated with this, but also the right to select who can and cannot be allowed to enter Lithuania. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland has been informed, as the TASS report states, that the Soviet Union has suspended the simplified non-visa procedure for crossing the Soviet-Polish border. The fact that this is inconvenient for residents who have relatives on both sides of the border, and for whom the very simplified procedure is urgent, is the humanitarian aspect of Soviet policy which can be assessed by the people not only here but also in Poland. But as for the Soviet-Polish border, as it is called, this is one of the main political problems, a fundamental problem of sovereignty. The unfounded assertions that this is the border of their state serve as further evidence of that which cannot be proven.

In a statement published this very day U.S. Ambassador John Matlock writes: "Yes, we recognize all other borders of your country," but not the Baltic borders. This is a very striking confrontation for this kind of claim, as if the border of Lithuania is a border with the Soviet Union. The United States, like all democratic countries, continuously mentions that a forceful annexation occurred in 1940. Thus, the borders were also forced.

A legal constitutional aggression is being and will continue to be conducted against us, which we will oppose with right and realization and with an expression of such in our legislation and our constitution.

We must be ready for such threats as insinuations in the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA that a rule-of-law state must put itself in order from within and that there must be no anarchy in it, and again there is this question—are we inside this state? Well, this is not so. Moreover, a rule-of-law state must not cause rule-of-law anarchy itself. It should not appeal to residents of Lithuania not to submit to the laws of Lithuania. Unfortunately, it is doing this. And this situation might be deliberately aggravated: In Lithuania, where only the laws of Lithuania are operative, they tell us that supposedly other laws also have force here. They are splitting people into two parts, and they do not know at that instant whom they have wronged and to whom they have to reply. Therefore, there must be complete clarity here. It is possible that you heard yesterday on television of a temporary decree of the Supreme Council Presidium about the application of certain articles of the Criminal Code. These are articles concerning punishment for arbitrariness and for appropriating certain prerogatives of functions of authority, and about the seizure of buildings, etc. All of these are crimes under the Criminal Code. People undertaking such actions should be clearly informed that according to the laws of the Lithuanian Republic they are committing a crime. It is possible that today we are not in a position to punish and to judge all of them, but the Office of the Prosecutor of Lithuania, apparently, should initiate proceedings of such a nature. It is important that people know in advance that they will have to consider this, and that it will be disadvantageous for them to break the laws of the republic, especially if they want to live in Lithuania and be citizens of Lithuania. It is today advisable to turn this document into a Supreme Council decree.

I want to dwell briefly on the problem of party relations. This is a very important problem under our political conditions. Thus, an author from Lithuania, Professor Valentines Lazutka, explains in the central press that at the present time "Sajudis" heads the Communist Party of Lithuania, inasmuch as half the leaders of the Communist Party of Lithuania are representatives of "Sajudis." It is reported that, even though the Higher Party School was transferred to the Lithuanian Republic by the Council of Ministers (actually turned over to the Vilnius pedagogical institute), they say, we will not give in. And the armed forces come to the aid of those who are not giving in. A lot can be done with this kind of arrangement. If the army will help return the building, then perhaps the army will help

return power, for, as it was said yesterday at the meeting with the military, "they asked us, and we are helping." If you proceed from such criteria, the leading role of the army in Lithuania can be very dangerous. Dangerous, probably, even for world peace, because we know that it has been said repeatedly abroad from high tribunals: In the event of the use of force in Lithuania against the legal parliament and government, the entire process of peaceful development in Europe and the world could be thrown way back. Does the army really need this? And, perhaps, it is necessary, and, perhaps, it will again become primary and very important, and it will again start to receive large subsidies from the Soviet state? Is it possible that this is why it is acting as it is? We do not know whether in fact it is fully subordinate to the political leadership.

And there is the newspaper printed abroad and brought to Lithuania for dissemination (SOVETSKAYA LITVA—Editor). I do not know how it was disseminated here, but it was prepared earlier and issued as a newspaper of the Communist Party of Lithuania. The leaders of the Communist Party of Lithuania answered that they did not publish such a newspaper, and that it is not their newspaper. This means that another political force exists which intends to usurp even the name of the party. It is possible that by stealing this name in this way they want to force the Communist Party of Lithuania to give up its name. And if a force that is hostile to Lithuania is striving so hard for this, then the Communist Party of Lithuania should ponder whether it is worth giving up a name that someone craves? This, of course, is a matter for the party itself, but I am ascertaining this from the sidelines. One of the principal items in this newspaper is an article that expresses concern with respect to the Law on Political Parties that is being prepared.

Therefore, the law becomes more urgent with each day. It seems that its preparation and adoption should be accelerated. Legal and other commissions should take care of this. It should be clearly determined in Lithuania what a political party is—legal, lawful, and registered—and what some other kind of a group is, which only calls itself a party, or which is not a party but only a local branch of another party, which is located outside Lithuania. Then what kind of legal status does it have in Lithuania? These are problems for our parliament and for our legislation, whose resolution we will pursue.

Brazauskas Letter of Protest to Gorbachev

90UN1449B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
28 Mar 90 p 1

[Letter "To Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the USSR, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] Moscow, the Kremlin.

On the morning of 27 March of this year, armed servicemen of the airborne assault forces of the Soviet Army seized the building of the Lithuanian Communist Party

Central Committee. This is a continuation of the recent seizures by servicemen of the buildings of party organs.

Such actions by representatives of the Soviet Army give rise to an escalation of tension in the social and political situation in the republic and do not contribute to stabilization of the situation. The use of military force to solve the problems that arise is a crude violation of the sovereignty of Lithuania and is not in accordance with the USSR Constitution, especially after the sixth article of the Basic Law was changed. Attempts by the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party (loyal to the CPSU platform) to demand negotiations under the muzzles of assault rifles does not do anything but arouse resentment at such actions and deep concern for the future course of events.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Buro categorically protests the Army's seizure of the buildings of the party organs and awaits your intervention with the goal of normalizing the situation.

Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary,
Lithuanian CP Central Committee.
Vilnius, Lithuanian CP Central Committee.
27 March 1990.

Kazakh Party Chief Nazarbayev on Current Issues, Aims

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[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 2 Feb 90 carries on page 2 a 4,500-word interview with N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan CP, entitled "For Better Times." In the interview, which is conducted by Sh. Murtazayev, chief editor of SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, party chief Nazarbayev is asked about his recent trip to Canada and to the United States as part of a republic agricultural delegation, about the reasons for the many deficiencies and inefficiencies of Kazakh agriculture, about the "key issue" of economic self-government, the continuing problem of "remote," economically and socially underdeveloped rayon of the republic (70 out of 207, 30 with particular problems, Nazarbayev notes, now receiving direct republic financial assistance), about his views on the future of Kazakh as the republic official language, the "paper shortage" and the new newspapers of the republic and the key concern of the many Kazakhs living in other parts of the USSR, and abroad, and how best to maintain contact with them and respond to their needs (Nazarbayev claims credit for much that has been recently accomplished in this area). His recent trip to Canada and the United States, Nazarbayev makes clear, both pointed up the many inefficiencies of republic agriculture and possible solutions since those parts of Canada visited by the Kazakh delegation are similar to Kazakhstan in climate and geography. The key to future development, he makes clear, lies in more numerous, better, more productive livestock, and in a cooperative agriculture based upon democratic principles similar to the cooperative agriculture of western Canada. Also vital, he stresses, are reasonable prices paid for raw

agricultural products, this is the key since without reasonable price supports, he concludes, republic agriculture will just not flourish.

Turning to other areas of the republic economy, principally coal and oil, Nazabayev again stresses the importance not only of reorganized and more efficiently managed production, but of reasonable prices paid for raw materials. Some 60 percent of KaSSR industry (substantially above the average for other union republics, says Nazarbayev), he notes, is controlled by ministries located outside the republic which not only keep prices for Kazakh raw materials unreasonably low, to their own benefit, but keep most profits from local production for themselves. The result, Nazabayev complains, is that the republic must import 60 percent of everything it consumes at high cost, while it exports its own mineral and other riches at little or no profit to itself. ("They get the profits, we get the pollution." This must change, he goes on, if Kazakhstan is ever to improve itself. However, he notes, national authorities have proven resistant to his suggestions in this area in the past and are quick to blame Kazakhs for incidents such as the Zhanga Ozen riots when in fact the inequalities and injustices giving rise to them are do to the actions of ministries and other agencies functioning outside the KaSSR and thus not subject to control or influence by authorities within the republic. Local soviets, he stresses, must gain control of local resources if things are ever to change. This issue of economic self-government is, to Nazarbayev the key issue of all key issues now affecting the republic.

On the language law, Nazarbayev, in response to a criticism by interviewer Murtazayev that too much emphasis has been placed in the past on such things as translation of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and not enough on serious philosophical thought in the Kazakh language, acknowledges that the attitude that "one must learn Russian to eat" is widespread. Kazakh, he stresses, is a rich language of enormous linguistic resource, and must be developed for use in every area of republic political and cultural life.

Turning to the related issue of the press, Nazarbayev acknowledges his interviewer's criticisms that there seems to be plenty of paper to published national newspapers in the millions of issues, while local newspapers (including a recently established popular paper ORAZASYN) appear in relatively small issues and are in short supply. Recycling paper, as is done in Canada, he suggests, may be one solution, since paper is after all, he notes, one of those imported products the republic has such difficulty paying for.

Ukraine Acts to Reduce Automobile Privileges

90UNI198 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian
No 10, 5-11 Mar 90 p 4

[Article by a RATAU correspondent based on comments by Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Finance and USSR People's Deputy I. A. Zabrodin: "Fewer Personal Vehicles"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has passed a resolution on further reducing the use of light

vehicles by institutions, enterprises and organizations. At the request of a RATAU correspondent the republic's Minister of Finance and USSR People's Deputy I. A. Zabrodin commented on this document.

With the same goal in mind and in accordance with a union and republic governmental decision, two years ago the number of service vehicles in ministries, departments, institutions and organizations was reduced by 20-40 percent. At that time the fleet in the Ukraine was reduced by almost 3000 vehicles and their sale brought 6.2 million rubles into the republic's budget. A significant amount of money was also saved by the reduction on expenditures for maintaining these service vehicles.

The present announcement by the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers was aimed at further reducing the number of service vehicles and the expenses of maintaining them. In 1990 all ministries, institutions and enterprises in Kiev will make the transition to being supported through agreements with general use automotive enterprises. Light vehicles will no longer be allocated either to officials or to the organization being supported.

A new system is also being established for the highest levels of state government. For example the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers and also ministers, Ukrainian SSR state committee representatives and those individuals equal in rank to them will get a Volga automobile for a period of time not to exceed 12 hours per day. And the list of officials whose position calls for vehicles to be allotted has been reduced. For example, for official trips by deputy ministers (state committee representatives) and other workers of similar rank vehicles are issued only when requested; this is based on a rotating system and must be within the established time limits.

As noted in the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission report on privileges, more than 70 percent of service vehicles are now in enterprises and organizations that have made the transition to operating totally on a profit system and self-financing basis. Acquisition and maintenance of such vehicles now comes out of funds for the enterprise's social development and labor collective councils determine the specific amount for these expenditures.

And this is precisely where most of the violations are. Our local financial agencies have very recently inspected 4,500 organizations and they detected rule violations in the use of service vehicles in one quarter of them. For example, 23 enterprises and organizations in Volyn and 39 in Dnepropetrovshchina attributed these expenditures to product or service costs. And there were many such examples in other oblasts. The total cost of such violations was 1.9 million rubles. In one out of every five of the enterprises that were inspected the amount of assets allocated to maintaining service vehicles was determined without the participation of labor collective councils. And we found a tendency toward unsubstantiated increases in expenses for service vehicles: some

managers travel in foreign-made limousines purchased with currency that could have been allocated to production needs...

A significant number of vehicles will be freed up as a result of instituting the measures envisioned by the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers' resolution. These will then be transferred to the taxi fleet and sold to the population through trade organizations.

Controversial Kiev Party Official Saliy Interviewed

90UN11194 Moscow *SOBESEDNIK* in Russian No 5, Feb 90 p 4

[Interview with I. N. Saliy, first secretary of the Podolskiy Party Raykom, Kiev, conducted by the journalist Vasilii Komarnitskiy: "I Renounce Dogmas"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] The letter to the newspaper was regarded as a sensation. A non-party worker at an offset printing plant reported that she had been a witness to a public renunciation of the party. The renunciation had been made not by a rank-and-file member but by a raykom first secretary. "His speech was as simple as his clothes: blue jeans and a jacket..." Following this "testimony," the letter asked a question: "Just who are you, Comrade Saliy?" At the editors' request, the journalist Vasilii Komarnitskiy interviewed Ivan Nikolayevich Saliy, first secretary of the Podolskiy Party Raykom in Kiev.

[Komarnitskiy] Ivan Nikolayevich, a report delivered at a plenary session of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee stated that during the election campaign you had permitted yourself politically immature, demagogic attacks on the party that were unworthy of a CPSU member. You were called to account and threatened with organizational measures. What were you feeling during those days?

[Saliy] I felt the ambiguity of my position. But I did not submit an application to be relieved of my duties "at my own request" or in connection with a deterioration of my health. I considered that that would have been weakness. I submitted a request to the party raykom buro that a plenum be convened. At it I said that I would not write a statement asking to be relieved of my duties or renouncing my views, since I saw no reason to. But I would accept the will of the raykom members, however it turned out.

[Komarnitskiy] That was probably an unusual plenum.

[Saliy] I think so. The unusualness of the situation was that the political character of a party raykom first secretary had to be determined. It was a kind of political process accompanied by a great congregation of the aktiv and a seething of passions and emotions. The main thing that stood out was a desire to defend me, even by forgiving the inaccuracies and certain emotional excesses that had occurred, and could not have helped but occur, in the course of my 130 election meetings.

They had taken place not only in auditoriums but at a movie theater and a department store, in a park, at a subway station, in a shop, and at a crowded transport stop. At such places, you can't make use of notes prepared in advance.

[Komarnitskiy] At the plenum you proposed holding joint television debates with the then first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

[Saliy] And what else could I have proposed? I sensed not only a "distance of immense size," but my own lack of rights in the party. The judgments of me expressed by comrade Shcherbitskiy were printed by all the republic and city newspapers, yet my own opinion and my own view—So I proposed holding television debates so that people would find out just how "demagogic" and just how "unworthy" of a party member my statement had been, and so that only after that the results could be summed up by stern officials "who always know the truth," since there is no getting around that. Of course, no one had any intention of organizing the debate, just as materials from the raykom plenum, which were of interest to many readers, were not provided in the press.

[Komarnitskiy] Restructuring is being led by people who joined the leadership when the party held a monopoly position in society. Isn't that putting an imprint on the course of the changes?

[Saliy] Of course. Restructuring has carried out only an initial replacement of personnel. And people have joined who, by and large, have the same views, habits and style of work, and belong to the same nomenklatura group. Just recall the rally at the stadium holding 100,000 that was organized by the party gorkom following the noisy congress of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Restructuring, or Rukh, for short. The same old mandatory attendance, the same old reading of previously prepared texts. Who needs the contrived appearance of mass support today? Or take last spring's elections. People did not know the public's mood. They did not imagine the force of public opinion, yet even in a situation of weak organization and without any leadership structures to speak of, it proved more powerful than our entire heavy and obsolete political machine. Its mechanisms merely spun their wheels. In Kiev, for example, not a single party or soviet official was elected as a people's deputy. And the situation now is no better, either.

[Komarnitskiy] During the discussion of the election platform at the recent party gorkom plenum, you said the following, word for word: "I am abstaining, because I do not want to be the only 'no.'"

[Saliy] I have long been concerned by the style of our meetings and plenums, especially by their productivity and ability to reflect real processes. We talk a lot, usually about what is "at hand," but we still adopt decisions unanimously. And how could things be any different, since controversial ideas and alternative approaches are not even proposed?

That is what happened with the city party organization's platform. It contains a lot of what are correct ideas, according to our current notions, but no vanguard ideas that are worthy of a major party organization. What we need is, if not an intellectual breakthrough, at least political will and courage.

All these references to "class feeling," and "political advisability" come from times that I hope have irrevocably passed.

[Komarnitskiy] Incidentally, Ivan Nikolayevich, you yourself are actually a child of the stagnation era.

[Saliy] Just as you are. Even then a great deal of work was done. A mass of figures for the rayon and every enterprise in it was monitored, and competition was frequently conducted on the basis of fabricated indices. During those years the expression "give a new impetus" came into usage. And so it was that people often worked from impetus to impetus. One role had been predetermined for us—to follow the line. And we followed it. For failure to fulfill the plan, people were dismissed, and for building dachas or participating in parties where alcoholic beverages were consumed, they were expelled from the party. There was a kind of "tariff," a standard of strictness. And in that sort of atmosphere the raykom secretary did not feel himself to be a political worker. It is very important for everyone to recognize all this and to overcome it in his own mind. Personally I do not count myself among the lost leaders. If one continuously updates one's knowledge and work style, does not avoid meeting with people, and tries to understand their concerns and problems, one will always have the chance to remain up-to-date.

[Komarnitskiy] You have been supporting adoption of a Law on the Party. What do you see as its main provisions?

[Saliy] Right now I am thinking: on the party, or on parties? Or should it be on public organizations, including parties?

[Komarnitskiy] So you favor a multiparty system?

[Saliy] I believe that a strong party has nothing to fear from political competition. Here, in brief, is what I would like to see in the law. First, a provision concerning the responsibility of the governing party or, more precisely, its leadership personnel, for the results of the policies they follow. How many mistakes have already been made in the time of restructuring, and not only have the people who are to blame not been punished, we do not even know their names. Can that be normal? Second, the right to defend—or, more precisely, the mechanism for defending—the opinion of a minority, and even of a single individual. Third, a provision for holding mandatory referendums on the people's confidence in the party's policies at both the nationwide and local levels. After all, if the party is acting in people's interest, it is not a bad idea to know their opinion, so that neither policies nor leaders are imposed on them. And

Communists themselves should not find themselves in the abnormal situation whereby they are forced—out of what considerations, no one knows—to defend weak leaders and their unfit policies before the public.

[Komarnitskiy] Recent events in Lithuania and the extraordinary CPSU Central Committee plenum probably force one to reflect on a great deal.

[Saliy] One can understand the delegates to the Lithuanian Communist Party's 20th Congress who voted for its independence. But that does not mean wholly supporting them. It seems to me that in making that decision they believed they were reflecting the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Communists and avoiding confrontation with the people.

That decision needs to be interpreted. On the one hand, the "unity" of the ranks is violated; on the other—how can one provide for it in such a large party? It is possible that Lithuania's Communists have shown the way toward a multiparty system, toward the formation of parties that are similar in goals and tactics of action. It is not easy to react to these events from the center: at first we observed indifference, and then excessive nervousness.

[Komarnitskiy] At one party gorkom plenum you proposed that its work be deemed unsatisfactory, and that the entire elected body resign.

[Saliy] Resignation is a normal phenomenon. Especially when there is a crisis of confidence in the city—confidence in the party and its leaders—and elections to republic and local bodies of authority lie ahead. Without an influx of fresh forces into party agencies, we may not see our representatives in the soviets. In addition, our Podolskiy Raykom has proposed making changes in the party statutes: concerning the resignation of the apparatuses of party committees at all levels following the election of new committees. They have all too large a "permanent membership," consisting of people appointed forever. That is abnormal, when after decades of work it is found out that a person is losing his qualifications.

Our apparatus, for example, past a stern certification by the elective body after it had provisionally resigned. Some people were recommended for promotion, and it was proposed that others transfer to work in their specialties. That's the way it should be, although I admit that it is a difficult and sometimes dramatic process.

[Komarnitskiy] Judging from your speeches and articles, you take radical stands on economic issues. What meaning do you give to this?

[Saliy] The path of trial and error that we have chosen is not proving its merits. That's the first point. Second, while the formation of new political structures is in progress, it is important to work out a mechanism for the self-development of every unit of the economy, adopt a Law on Property and give real power to the rayons and

cities. And to tell people that for a certain period there will be no vacillations in the economic line. Here there is a need for stability, confidence and continuity. After all, there exists not only the great inertia of stagnation, but also, I fear, the invisible energy of collapse. And in order not to start going in different directions, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the country's central agencies should hurry and hold strictly to their chosen priorities. After all, there is already talk about a crisis in restructuring, confidence in it is declining, and that must not be permitted.

[Komarnitskiy] So what is happening to us? Why do we not have the results that were counted on?

[Saliy] In my opinion, the means of governing are not working. The first thing for any regime is authority. But the authority of the party and the soviets, which were not high in the first place, are continuing to decline, widening the gap between the goals that have been proclaimed and are supported by the people, on the one hand, and the actual situation, on the other. The other side of this coin is respect for the law and observance of legality. There have been various cults in our country; the only thing there hasn't been is a cult of legality. Therefore we have readily adopted progressive laws, including the Stalinist Constitution, and ratified many declarations, including declarations on human rights, but no one has intended to fulfill them in their entirety. Therefore, I shall be so bold as to propose that the new progressive laws will not be carried out quickly or immediately, either.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that the party's rights are being increasingly strongly disputed, and the soviets, especially the local soviets, which have direct contact with people, have neither the economic nor the personnel basis for governing. After all, it is necessary not just to take power but to exercise it skillfully and knowledgeably, preventing coercion and the growth of a repressive apparatus. In my view the great service of the new thinking lies in the fact that it puts a stop to the unbridled exercise of the regime's punitive functions.

[Komarnitskiy] At the congress of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Restructuring, you were greeted with a stormy, standing ovation but got a very restrained farewell. Didn't you dispel the myth about yourself?

[Saliy] But was there any myth? Yes, I got a restrained farewell, but not a hostile one. After all, I did not intend to take the floor. But after a day I realized that I did not have the right not to speak. I considered it my civic and party duty to forewarn Rukh, to defend the party that is undergoing renewal, and to remind the numerous guests from other regions of the country and abroad that the Ukrainian people takes all their advice into consideration but is capable of making its own way, regardless of the numerous problems.

I also spoke about the fact that both Rukh and the party have identical diseases: one group of people write and

proclaim manifestos and slogans, while their implementation is assigned to others, for they themselves cannot always conceive how it can realistically be done. And how could I not speak about the fact that a bitter recognition of the mistakes and errors of the past is taking place in the party and among our entire people, and that the party is seeking the road to the temple of truth, freedom and human dignity together with the people. Therefore, drawing a line between the party's healthy forces and Rukh is an absurdity that must be avoided.

It is clear that Rukh must be helped, but it should help the party and society cope with the boundless sea of problems that have arisen, problems which make some people dizzy and produce confusion in others.

[Komarnitskiy] During the election campaign I saw a poster calling on people to vote for you. As far as I know, this was a surprise by the artists, and it is believed that you are the only party official in Kiev who was supported by the informal groups in the elections. It is said that you are afraid of them and, therefore, play up to them.

[Saliy] Let me clarify: those who you call "informal" groups did not campaign openly against me. That is a fact. However, I do not play up to them but speak with them as equals. I try to treat views that do not coincide with mine with respect. And if the members of informal groups, as we have not entirely successfully dubbed them, succeed in changing my mind—and that happens—I take their side. I sometimes attend their activities, even those where it is not easy for a party member not only to speak, but even to be present. For example, I was granted the floor in Bykovnyanskiy Forest, at a rally in memory of Stalin's victims that had been organized by the Memorial Society. A year ago, a monument to the victims of fascism had been opened there. There was also a difficult discussion of the consequences of Stalinism in the Istina Club for believers.

I have long believed that it is possible not just to debate but also to cooperate with the members of informal groups. We conducted a joint rally with Rukh, and after that a Sunday volunteer work day for restoring cultural monuments. About 500 people came out. Incidentally, Rukh members worked closely and in an organized fashion alongside of the members of the party raykom and apparat staff members. There were some political arguments, but that is a normal phenomenon.

[Komarnitskiy] Ivan Nikolayevich, I shall allow myself to ask you the following question: Lately one can hear, shall we say, unflattering comments from your colleagues, party workers, about the first secretary of the Podolskiy Party Raykom. What is your attitude toward criticism?

[Saliy] Of course, like any person, I am not indifferent. I try to accept the just criticism. The unfair criticism, especially that which borders on label-pinning, I disagree with and actively resist.

[Komarnitskiy] Are you criticized by employees of the party raykom of which you are head?

[Saliy] I am. But more so, it seems to me, I am spared.

[Komarnitskiy] And a final question: So just what, after all, do you renounce?

[Saliy] To put it briefly, I renounce, first and foremost, dogmas and stereotypes in the life of the party and society, and I renounce equality in poverty.

I. N. Saliy, first secretary of the Podolskiy Party Raykom has been nominated as a candidate for deputy to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. We wish Ivan Nikolayevich victory in the elections!

Paulauskas Appointed Lithuania Prosecutor

90UN1430B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
24 Mar 90 p 1

[Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council Decree on
Appointment of Republic of Lithuania Prosecutor]

[Text] The Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council
resolves:

To appoint Arturas Paulauskas prosecutor of the
Republic of Lithuania.

V. LANDSBERGIS, chairman,
Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council.
Vilnius, 22 March 1990.

Lithuanian House of Press Policies Viewed

90UN1496A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA staff correspondent Leonid Kapelyushnyy: "Settlement After the Divorce"]

[Text] From the inside, the glass door was "roped" with a locked chain. A man with a walkie-talkie and a green Sajudis armband was on duty next to the lock. Further inside the building, I could see a group of civilians and scanty militia ranks.

On the grounds in front of the entrance there was a similar lineup, about 15 people headed by a major. The door opened cautiously and the civilian guard let out five people in militia uniforms, counting them one by one, and let in the same number. After a lengthy pause, the procedure was repeated: A change of guard was under way in the Vilnius House of the Press.

By the end of the first month of existence of the republic of Lithuania, the House of the Press, a stronghold of glasnost housing all major editorial offices of Lithuanian newspapers and their printing facilities, was under siege by "a plurality of guards"—MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and Sajudis troops. Going inside, I saw fire hoses spread through the corridors; volunteer guards towered like vigilant statues in the bowels of editorial offices, their eyes red from lack of sleep.

What is going on? Who put on this ludicrous display for the community of journalists with, as they say, home delivery? Some time ago, reporting to our readers on the forthcoming division of party assets, I suggested that the division of paper clips may very well exacerbate the ideological split between the Communist Party of Lithuania and the independent Communist Party of Lithuania. I was mistaken. They divided up the clips amicably, but stumbled when it came to more formidable assets. The segment of the Communist Party subscribing to the ideas of the CPSU and left homeless waited for more than two months for what the masters of the situation would allocate to it. However, the independents' Central Committee proceeded from the position that, in essence, it owes nothing to the dissenters...

In general, I must say that there is not a grain of mutual understanding between the two communist parties of one and the same Lithuania. The dispute over assets resembled a dialogue between the deaf and the blind. Having waited a while, the CPSU Central Committee declared the party on the CPSU platform the heir to the party assets. The independent party considered this unfair.

A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, wrote a letter to the CPSU general secretary (it was published in the local press).

"In our opinion, the struggle of political passions which has unfolded because of this strictly legal issue and which

has been accompanied by unlawful actions by the representatives of the Communist Party of Lithuania (on the platform of the CPSU) does great political and moral damage to the CPSU as a whole and its leadership in particular. Applying coercive pressure, including the USSR Armed Forces, in resolving disputes over assets is absolutely impermissible, especially at the present complex time for relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union."

A. Brazauskas went on to stress that members of the party, rather than the party as a political organization, are the subjects of ownership. At present, about 90,000 members of the independent Communist Party of Lithuania are deprived of their right to own the material technical facilities which they have directly participated in creating. It was stressed that between 1970 and 1989 the communists of Lithuania contributed about R300 million to the party budget.

While not an expert in the field of economic law, I do pay party dues regularly, and I will outline my considerations on how to resolve this conflict: Divide everything up fairly. Possibly, the Armed Forces would not have had to be used to guard the property of the CPSU had the independent Central Committee given their opponents a wing of its building, had it found some space for the disliked newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA on the many floors of the House of the Press, had they not begun donating the buildings belonging to the party to the noble cause of education without consulting the CPSU Central Committee.

In general, we must say frankly that using military force to resolve a dispute over assets was a big present to all ideological opponents of Soviet power. The only angle from which TV crews did not film the paratroopers was, perhaps, from the heels of their boots. Every armored personnel carrier was immortalized from enough angles to make a movie star jealous. However, let us be honest in our assessment of the situation: Even if the military men were looking for a pretext to conduct exercises, "to look at the people and show themselves," the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania and the Central Committee of the independent Communist Party of Lithuania tried to help them as best they knew how.

However, let us go back to the millions of the party. Taking advantage of the presence of ranking functionaries of the CPSU Central Committee in Vilnius, I asked V. Kostrov, chief of the production department of the party publishing houses of the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs, and M. Sharov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Press Sector, to explain the situation with the House of the Press as well as with other units of property.

Incidentally, our conversation took place after they and other functionaries of the CPSU Central Committee visited the House of the Press; however, this visit turned out to be a "non-protocol" one. Vadim Vladimirovich Kostrov flew to Vilnius in order to find common ground

and come to an understanding with the leadership of the Lithuanian Publishing House of the CPSU (this is the new official name of the House of the Press). It is supplied with newsprint, printer's ink, camera film, and so on from party stocks. The principles of its operations are being revised in conjunction with a transition to economic accountability. The chief engineer, who is acting director, met the guests at the entrance to the House of the Press and took them through the checkpoints of volunteer guards. However, subsequently the Sajudis watchmen barred them not only from the office but even from the hallway of the administrative floor. Therefore, the property owner could not even view this property.

V. Kostrov said: "First of all, we need to clarify the situation with the 300,000 million contributed by the Lithuanian communists to the party budget. Between 1946 and 1988, all proceeds of the Communist Party of Lithuania amounted to 300.6 million, and expenditures to 414.5 million. Therefore, subsidies to the Lithuanian Communist Party came to a tremendous sum. What were these millions spent for? Giving a line-by-line account of party expenditures would take up a lot of space. This includes remunerations paid to the party apparatus (they are not among the lowest-paid individuals), construction of housing for party functionaries and of administrative buildings, training structures, maintenance of transportation and second-home settlements, and, finally, the construction of the Higher Party School, the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee building, and the newspaper publishing house with funds specifically allocated from the party budget. The latter cost us R29.8 million."

I asked Mikhail Vasilyevich Sharov to comment on the most sensitive issue: the eviction of the editorial offices of EKHO LITVY and KURIER WILENSKI from the publishing house and the refusal to print the newspapers ATGIMAS, SOGLASIYE, GIMTASIS ERASTAS, and RESPUBLIKA.

"This is how I would put it: It is not surprising that these newspapers will not be printed in the CPSU publishing house; it is surprising that they are printed there. One would be hard pressed to find a case in world practice where a party prints the literature of its fierce adversaries who call for the destruction of the party. It would be a violation of the norms of democracy and glasnost to seek

a ban on these publications. However, we are not demanding this; let them be published. But why should we give them a most favored status? Have our ideological adversaries displayed magnanimity with regard to, say, the renewed SOVETSKAYA LITVA? Nothing of the kind. It is printed in Belorussia.

"As far as the publication of the former party newspapers which have renounced their party affiliation is concerned, both of them, EKHO LITVY and KURIER WILENSKI, operated at a loss. We maintained them with funds from the party budget. But why are we going to tolerate losses now? By giving them space in the House of the Press, the publishing house automatically assumes responsibility for creating conditions for journalists, providing office equipment for them, and so on. However, in order to avoid confusion and misunderstanding I must stress: These newspapers are printed and will continue to be printed in our publishing house, despite the spirit of both of them being alien to us. We cannot deprive our Polish readers of their own newspaper, the only large one in the country... However, our mutual relations will be built on a different, commercial basis."

It is hard to say how the conflict situation is going to be resolved. For now, the presence of the guards, vigilant inspections of passes, and the verbal exchanges and quarrels which erupt do little to enhance the House of the Press, and even less to facilitate the mental balance of journalists which makes it possible to find balanced and fair words for assessing the situation.

When this issue was being typeset, I went on business to our IZVESTIYA representative's office which is located in the House of the Press. The guards wearing green armbands leafed through my press credentials, established that they were issued in Moscow, and went away for a consultation. They took quite a while getting advice, and ultimately they did not let me in. "Your newspaper is in Moscow, so you go and work there."

Thus, the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Law on the Press, which nobody has invalidated, was violated. They interfered with my performance of my direct duties without any foundation or reason. Secondly, in no civilized country of the world would they try to bar a journalist from an editorial office on the basis of "geographical affiliation." One of the guards told me that "a new era has begun in Lithuania now."

1917-1959 USSR Casualty Figures Higher Than Previously Disclosed

90US0782A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 13, 31 Mar-6 April 90 p 7

[Report by A. Binev of article by I. Kurgan in response to inquiry by Ye. Belokon: "'Three Figures' From Our History: Social Cataclysms Took Many Millions of Lives"]

[Text] Ye. Belokon, instructor at the Historical-Archival Institute provided ARGUMENTY I FAKTY editors with I. Kurganov's article "Three Figures," published several times abroad and dedicated to the issue of human losses in the USSR from 1917 to 1959.

We hope that I. Kurganov's calculations will bring us closer to the truth. But at the same time, we will reserve some room for doubt...

Before offering this abridged version of the article for the reader's attention, our correspondent A. Binev asked Ye. Belokon two questions

[Correspondent] I. Kurganov emigrated to the West during World War II, and died in the sixties. What can you tell us about this man?

[Belokon] The author of the article "Three Figures" concerned himself with the problems reflected in the titles of his books: "The Family in the USSR, 1917-1967," and "The USSR Peasantry: A Survey of the Social Status of the Peasant in Light of the Restructuring of the USSR Rural Economy Begun in 1958," and "The Nations of the USSR and the Russian Question." The article "Three Figures" was published in the emigre NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO in the sixties. The author attempted to research not only the quantitative but the qualitative consequences of social cataclysms in the USSR.

[Correspondent] Do you know anything about his descendents?

[Belokon] Kurganov's grandson, Alexander Neratoff, is an architect. A meeting with him gave the impulse for closer acquaintance with the I. Kurganov's publications. Their ancestor, Anatoliy Anatolyevich Neratov was a comrade of the minister of foreign affairs of the tsarist government from 1910-1917. After the October Revolution, L. Trotskiy sought to get from him the keys to the secrets safes of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which was kept the documentation for all the international treaties of the Russian empire. Neratov's personal archive is now located in the Central State Archive of the October Revolution (TsGAOR SSSR).

The First Figure

Back in 1871, F. Dostoevsky expressed the supposition that the social reconstruction of society could cost the people 100 million heads.

The revolution in Russia began with the uprising in 1917, then developed in to a civil war, industrialization, collectivization, and a complete reconstruction of society. During this time, the people did indeed bear major losses, especially in the early period of the revolution and the period of Stalin's dictatorship. Here are some figures:

—the size of the population within Russia's 17 September 1939 borders in 1917 was 143.5 million;

—the natural population growth between 1918-1939 should normally have been 64.4 million (using the 1.7 coefficient accepted as the basis of USSR Gosplan demographic calculations);

—the mechanical population growth in 1940-1941 was 20.1 million people. This includes the population of the territories annexed in 1940, as well as subsequent annexations (900,000—Carpathian Rus; 100,000—Tuva and the population of the borders clarified with Poland in 1945);

—the natural population growth in the modern borders for 1940-1945 should have been 91.5 million;

—consequently, the total population in 1959 should have been 319.5 million;

—in actuality, according to the 1959 census, there were 208.8 million.

Total population losses—110.7 million.

Thus, in connection with the events of 1917-1959, the USSR population lost 110 million human lives. This is the first figure.

The Second Figure

In the USSR, human losses are explained as military events. J. Stalin cited the figure of those lost in World War II (USSR population) as being 7 million people. According to American statistics, it is 7.5 million people. According to N. Khrushchev, 20 million people.

In actuality, the losses were even greater.

The USSR population at the beginning of the war was 197.1 million.

Natural growth between 1941 and 1945—15.4 million.

The population at the beginning of 1946 should have been 212.5 million.

At the beginning of 1946, the population was approximately 168.5 million.

Meaning that the human losses associated with the war were 44.0 million.

Such is our second figure. This figure includes: combat losses of those killed or dead from wounds; civilian losses from bombings in the rear, famine, disease, and the terror of the occupiers; losses on enemy territory

(deaths in camps); emigration losses (refugees and those who did not return); natural losses associated with the decline in the birth rate during the war.

This figure (44 million) is subject to verification.

Soviet statistics indicate that the population at the beginning of the war was 190.7 million. This was gotten as the result of adding 170.6 million (according to the 1939 census) and 20.1 million (annexed territories), but does not take into consideration population growth between 1939 and 1941. The figure is therefore incorrect.

Population growth (according to the 1.7 coefficient) from January to December 1939—2.9 million. Population growth in 1940 (according to the 1.3 coefficient) from January to August—1.5 million, and from September to December, 0.8 million. And the population growth for the first half of 1941 should be added here—1.2 million. Thus, there were 197.1 million people in the USSR before the war.

The natural population growth from 1 July 1941 until 1 January 1946 would have been calculated with the 1.7 coefficient, that is, had there not been the war.

The sources are lacking a population figure for the beginning of 1946. Yet it may be calculated indirectly: According to the new official data, there were 197.9 million people in 1956. In the opinion of N. Khrushchev (the speech at the 20th Congress), population growth from 1951-1955 was 16.3 million people. The population growth from 1946-1950 was 13.1 million people (this can be established using the data from the collection, "The USSR in Figures, 1962").

Thus, 197.9 million (1956) minus 16.3 million (1951-1955) minus 13.1 million (1946-1950) equals 168.5 million people at the beginning of 1946.

According to the American statistics, the allies' military losses may be presented so:

13 states—the United States, England, France, Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Holland, New Zealand, India, the South African Union, 940,707 people;

2 states, Poland and Yugoslavia, 730,000 people;

1 state, the USSR, 7.5 million people.

According to Soviet statistics, in World War I, the natural growth covered the military losses, and Russia's population was not reduced, but increased. In World War II, on the contrary, it decreased.

It looks like this in percentages:

World War I: at the beginning of the war, 100 percent; at the end, 102 percent;

World War II: at the beginning, 100 percent; at the end, 85 percent.

As we seen during World War II, the USSR population lost its entire natural growth (15.4 million), and 28.6 million (197.1 minus 168.5), or 14.5 percent of the pre-war population.

Such is our second figure.

The Third Figure

The data cited above comprise only a portion of all losses. The total number of losses in the USSR from 1917 to 1959 was 110.7 million people (100 percent), including: wartime losses—44.0 million (40 percent); non-wartime, non-revolutionary era—66.7 million (60 percent). Thus, in non-wartime (during the revolution and revolutionary transformations), the USSR people lost 66.7 million people.

Such is the third figure.

Stalin-Era Repressions of Belorussian Writers Detailed

90UN1247A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 12, 21 Mar 90 p 5

[Article by Sergey Grakhovskiy: "Thus the Poets Perished..."]

[Text] During the multi-year atmosphere of lies and constrained silence the meticulous researchers studying Belorussian literature could not understand what kind of epidemic during the 1930's cut down almost all the writers. And not the very old writers, but rather poets and prose-writers in their twenties and thirties. The oldest of them, Tishka Gartnoy, had scarcely turned fifty....

The October Revolution accorded the Belorussian people statehood for the first time. It gave promise that there would be a flowering of public-economic structures as well as cultural forces. From 1920 through 1926 alone some 500 literary persons appeared. They were united by Mikhas Charot in the "Maladnyak" Society. Not all of them possessed undoubted talents, nor did all of them leave a noticeable mark in literature. But they were bright, vivid individuals, devoted to their native culture, its traditions and its language. During those years speaking Belorussian was considered to be a mark of intellectuality.

New, gifted writers entered upon the field of literature: Dubovka, Pushcha, Zaretskiy, Baboreko, Chorny, Krapiva, Trus. They were greeted by Kupala, who nicknamed them the "eaglets." Caught up in the fresh wind of the Revolution, these young literary persons became its propagandists and singers. But, of course, they could not avoid differences as to literary passions and tendencies. The maximalism of views and the thirst for independence on the part of some of them split "Maladnyak" into smaller societies and associations as follows: "Uzvyshsha," "Polymya," "Problisk," and "Literaturnaya kamuna." A polemic among them began to appear in the press, each one asserting its own "primogeniture" and claiming to have greater ideological devotion. Certain

critics did not have sufficient tact in conducting discussions and in providing theoretical grounds for their own critical stances. All too frequently they resorted to political accusations.

A severity and categorical quality of judgement wafted from the articles by Alesya Dudar, written using the pseudonym Todor Glybotskiy. He also wrote the poem entitled "Pasekli nash kray, potaptal!" No one saw it in printed form, but the "all-seeing" eyes and "all-hearing" ears were already on the alert, and it was due to their "kind attention" that the poet Dudar became the first victim of a criminal charge. In 1928 he was exiled to Smolensk. Even after 60 years Dudar's wife was unable to forget her torments during those years. In a letter written to the author of this article and dated 30 January 1989 Nataliya Vyacheslavovna recalled the following: "It began with the Central Committee's Cultural and Propaganda Section, with which I had good relations, demanding that I renounce and abandon Dudar.... I was left without money and without work, while Dudar was starving in Smolensk." In 1979 Nikolay Ryl'kov told me how the Smolensk poets would meet secretly on a bank of the Dnepr River and support the exiled Dudar morally and financially.

In 1930 the procuratorial boss of a certain L. Benda began to thunder from the pages of newspapers and journals. Nobody knew who he was or where he had come from; he did not speak Belorussian. He was particularly fierce in his treatment of the most gifted persons—Dubovka and Pushchi. He attached the label "Anti-Soviet" to Vladimir Dubovka's narrative poems "I purpurovykh vetrzey uzvivi" and "Kambayn." The latter had, in fact, been entitled "Shturmuytse buluchyn: avanposty," but this seemed clearly unsuitable to the critic. He changed an as-yet unpublished poem into "Kambayn," and accused Dubovka of compromising kolkhoz construction. Yazep Pushchi's "Listy da sobaki" was lumped by Benda in with kulak-type lyricism. Benda's fulminating articles were essentially denunciations rather than critical analyses of artistic works.

Once, upon meeting Yazep Pushchi, I reminded him of his "Listy da sobaki," for which the poet spent almost three decades in exile. Yazep Pavlovich told me that during the very early 1930's he was living in Leningrad and was very homesick for his native Korolishchevichi, for the sites dear to his heart. And, somewhat influenced by Yesenin's verses entitled "To Kachalov's Dog," having remembered the red dog named Kudlik in his father's barnyard, he directed his own sadness and humor to him. But the red dog Kudlik did not save his master. The life of one of Belorussia's most talented poets was broken.

The fate of Vladimir Dubovka unfolded even more tragically: he was arrested three times, then exiled for five years, ten years in the camps, and finally was sent for permanent settlement in Krasnoyarsk Kray. And all this for that same "Kambayn." But just where did Benda get this title? The author used the word "combine" to

designate a genre of a combined narrative poem, referring to its polyphonic quality and its complex "architecture." This unique work included verses, dramatic scenes, prose digressions, and translations from foreign classics. Dubovka wrote as follows in the Foreword to his narrative poem: "This new thing reflects certain moments from our transitional times, making the transition to new and higher forms of public life—to collectivization."

The following fact is also interesting. When Dubovka was beginning to collect his works for re-publication, there were many manuscripts that he could not find. That same Benda came to his "aid." In his Leningrad apartment Benda had prudently hidden away the works which he himself had previously condemned, along with materials by the most diverse authors. Benda SOLD the narrative poem "Shturmuytse buduchyni avanposty" and many verses to their author at quite a high price!

After 1930 a period of relative calm ensued in literary life against a background of slogans, marches, and rhetoric, calls for shock workers to enter literature, workaday novels and short stories on the topics of industrialization and collectivization. But the students were reading the verses and narrative poems of Dubovka and Pushchi, Bogdanovich and Garun, even though in the lecture halls they were "unmasking" them in accordance with the Benda-type, hackneyed phrases. Thus a legitimized kind of double-dealing evolved and was prevalent in education.

However, there was no sleep at night for the building on Sovetskaya Street with its cellar, from which steam used to billow forth in winter, and the sentries would always hurry the passers-by along: "Move along, now, no loitering!" Some time was spent in this stuffy cellar by the poet, playwright, and scholar Mikhail Gromyko, and the prose-writer Symon Khursik. Nor was it by-passed by the following persons, who were arrested and sent to the Far North: Maksim Goret'skiy, Vladimir Zhilka, Nikifor Charnushkevich....

In 1928 the Communist poet Ales Sologub illegally crossed the border from Western Belorussia; he had served time twice in a Vilnius prison for revolutionary activity. The Belorussian writers greeted him like a brother. In Minsk Sologub graduated from the university and began graduate study; he joined the editorial collegium of the journal MALADNYAK; and his collection entitled "Lukishki" gained widespread recognition. In 1932 Sologub organized a large exhibition of paintings by the well-known Western Belorussian artist Roman Semashkevich. To this day I remember this extraordinary artist's challenges on canvas, filled with dramatic qualities and alarm. Within a year after that neither Semashkevich nor Sologub were on the scene. It was already after Sologub's rehabilitation that the date of this poet's death was published—1941. The death of most Belorussian writers was assigned to this year, which was convenient for covering up bloody and evil deeds. The

executioners attempted to list them as victims of the war. But, in fact, many were shot to death right after their arrest or slightly later.

In the spring of 1933 the short-lived journal BELARUS KALGASNAYA planned to print Mikola Nikanovich's short story entitled "Zhuraviny" and an article by Ananas Sidorenko about Yanka Kupala's creative work. Even before the journal came out, these works were deemed harmful, the issue never saw the light, nor did the authors of such "seditious" items "see the light." A new campaign against literature was initiated. The following writers disappeared: Lukash Kalyuga, Yuliy Taubin, Emitrok Astapenko, Maksim Luzhanin, Vladimir Syadura, Emitrok Vitalin, and Ales Prudnikov.

In August 1936 the poet Sergey Dorozhnyy was unexpectedly arrested. He had just returned from the Northern Caucasus, inspired by the exotic aspects of that mountainous region and satisfied that he had collected some interesting documents about the partisan struggled waged by M.F. Gikala, first secretary of the Belorussian KP(b) [Communist Party (bolshevik)] during the Civil War. Dorozhnyy intended to write a narrative poem about him, but it seemed to the Chekists that the poet was preparing some sort of attack. Even after Gikala had been arrested and shot, Dorozhnyy still received an enormous sentence, and he perished in a camp near Komsomolsk-na-Amur. Absurd, you say? But what was not absurd in the nationwide tragedy, at this bloody ball being played out in accordance with a scenario worked out ahead of time?

Tortured in the investigations, the victims confessed that they had blown up bridges in places where there had never been any bridges, had let trains go down embankments in places where rails had never been laid, and had set fire to non-existent plants. The investigators demanded ever more names of participants in imaginary diversions. Driven to despair, the unfortunate victims named the names of persons whom they did not always know personally. They hoped that this absurdity would be discovered by the procurator or the court. But the investigators were confident that the doors in their institution opened in only one direction. Not a single investigator was mistaken in this matter.

One after another poets, prose-writers, playwrights and critics, students and teachers at the philological departments. The staff of the Third Belorussian State Theater, along with its artistic director, Vladislav Golubko, were practically annihilated. The cells and cellars of all the prisons were chock-full of arrested persons. Stages traveled to the East every day, and at night muffled, closed vans, filled with persons condemned to death, were driven out of the city. Now we know the place of their last shelter—Kuropaty.

The following persons spent a year being investigated: Tishka Gartnyy, Mikhas Charot, Platon Golovach, Anatoliy Volnyy, Vasil Koval, Boris Mikulich, Vladimir Khosyko, Valeriy Moryakov, Todor Klyashtorny, Yurka Lyavonnyy, and dozens of other, lesser-known and younger literary persons. According to the records or minutes of the investigations, the following were considered to be leaders of "counter-revolutionary groups": Kupala, Kolas, Byadulya, Brovka, along with almost all the others. Kuzma Chornyy and Yanko Nyomanskiy were interrogated in prison. The authorities managed to have the latter shot, but Chornyy was saved by P.K. Ponomarenko, the new secretary of the Belorussian KP(b) Central Committee. He had enough courage and boldness to protect Kupala, Kolas, and several other writers from arrest, even though "cases" had already been instituted against them and orders written out.

Illegality and cruel terror always covers itself up by demagogic theories and slogans of the following type: "inviolability of the individual," "a son shall not be responsible for a father's deeds," "only the court can incarcerate someone." And here fathers were shot without any court hearing, wives were sent to camps, and children were given different last names and sent to special children's homes. If a wife was sent to a camp for eight years, that meant that her husband had been shot. Such a fate befell Charot, Golovach, Zaretskiy, Klyashtorny, Volnyy, and Stashevskiy. Those who remained alive were taken to Vorkuta, Norilsk, Temniki, to Sibltag, Kolyma, Pechora and to Ukhta, to Marinsk and Unzhlag. And millions have remained there. The eternal taiga rustles over their dust.

They have also remained eternally young in Kuropaty and in the Arctic frost of the international "GULAG Republic." I remember them as young and good-looking: to the point of hallucination I hear their voices; I see their clear, living eyes; and in Kuropaty I weep over a skull that has been shot through. Perhaps it is that of an old friend of mine. How many of them are there?

Listed below are the names of writers who were shot or perished in the camps:

Alyakhnovich, M.; Akselrod, Z.; Astapenko, Z.; Astreyko, S.; Baronovych, S.; Boboreko, A.; Bogun, M.; Vitalin, Z.; Volnyy, A.; Golovich, P.; Pivovarov, Z.; Rakita, S.; Rodzevich, L.; Rozno, A.; Sologub, A.; Stashevskiy, V.; Golubok, V.; Gartnyy, T.; Goretzkiy, M.; Grinevich, K.; Dorozhnyy, S.; Dyarkach, A.; Dudar, A.; Zhilka, V.; Zaretskiy, M.; Zamotin, I.; Sidorenko, A.; Tarashkevich, B.; Taubin, Yu.; Tumilovich, Ya.; Khodyko, K.; Kharin, I.; Znayomyy, S.; Koval, V.; Kalyuga, L.; Klyashtorny, T.; Kunitskiy, S.; Lyavonnyy, Yu.; Moryakov, V.; Mikulich, B.; Nemanskiy, Ya.; Nikanovich, M.; Khotulyov, P.; Charot, M.; Shashalevich, V.; Shashalevich, A.; (Mriy).

ETERNAL MEMORY!

Pravda Publicizes Nazi Plans for Baltics

90UN1444A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 90
Second Edition pp 2-3

[Historical Documents on Nazi Plans for Baltics: "The Baltics: Documents Testify"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Recently some mass media of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia at times make attempts to rehabilitate fascist accomplices, to present one-sidedly the policy of the Hitlerites during the years of the Great Patriotic War, and to depict the Soviet Army as an occupation army. The below-cited documents show what sort of a future the real occupiers—the fascists—had prepared for the inhabitants of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Belorussia. A more complete publication of the materials concerning this problem will be presented in No 4 of VOENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL.

I

Chief of the Foreign Administration of the Abwehr
Counterintelligence

No 29/41 Document of imperial importance Only for
ranking personnel

Berlin, 31 May 1941
Printed in 5 copies
Copy No 1

Record of the Discussion with Reichsleiter [Reich Leader] Rosenberg of 30 May 1941

At the outset, Reichsleiter Rosenberg set forth the political plans of the Reich [empire] during a possible military conflict with the Soviet Union. In conformity with these plans, we ought to make use of the historical moment in order, through the dismemberment of the Russian expanse into four states, once and for all to free Germany from the nightmare of a possible threat from the East. These four states are conceived as follows:

1. A Finland expanded in easterly direction.
2. Also a Baltic expanded at the expense of Belorussian lands (as a German protectorate with long-term subsequent Germanization).
3. An independent Ukraine.
4. A Caucasus as a federative state under German administration.

The seizure and administration of these territories poses vast and extremely difficult tasks, for whose solution the Reichsleiter considers it necessary to involve people who meet the requirements presented, who are impeccable in terms of their personal qualities, and who have a thorough knowledge of the local conditions or are by origin members of the minorities with whom the foreign directorate of the Abwehr maintained intelligence contacts (Ukrainians, Caucasians, etc., etc.).

The request of the Reichsleiter consists in registering the people from the secret service of the foreign directorate of the Abwehr in the East who are suitable for these purposes in a card index and, as a result of the joint work, specially selected for their quickest possible—i. e., from the moment of the beginning or the completion of military operations—transfer to the command of the department of the Reichsleiter.

I promised Reichsleiter Rosenberg full assistance in this matter on the part of my department and, in particular, mentioned the fact that I could, from the staff of my agents, working in the Abwehr, name appropriate people from among the Estonians. Further I promised to issue orders to the effect that, from the staff of the "Brandenburg-800" Special-Purpose Training Regiment, as well as from the Ukrainian volunteer formations, people be detached who, at the necessary moment, could be used as translators, government employees, plenipotentiaries, etc.

Instructions are being given to the chief of the 2nd Directorate of the Abwehr to carry out the necessary preparatory work for immediate cooperation with the department of Reichsleiter Rosenberg.

Canaris
(Facsimile of autograph)

List of distribution of the document:

Chief of the High Command of the Wehrmacht

Chief of the Foreign Service Foreign Affairs Department
Directorate Abwehr-1

Directorate Abwehr-2

II

Reichskommissar Ostland [Occupied Soviet Territories in the East] Department

Ila Messrs.

Generalkommissare [Commissioners General] and
Gebietskommissare [Area Commissioners]

Secret!

Copy

Reichsleiter Alred Rosenberg

Reichsminister for Affairs of the Eastern Occupied Territories

Reichskommissar of the Reichskommissariat Ostland
[Reich Civil Administration for Occupied Soviet Territories in the East] Heinrich Lose

Berlin, B-35, 21 July 1941

In the appendix you are being sent the first instructions for the Reichskommissariat Ostland. (The Reichskommissariat Ostland included the three Baltic republics, as well as Belorussia.—Translator's note). If necessary, the Commissioners General should be acquainted with the

content of these instructions (the composition of the Reichskommissariat included 4 General Commissariats, each encompassing one of the republics.—Translator's note) and area commissioners. (Gebietskommissariate [area commissariats] are component parts of the General Commissariats.—Translator's note).

The first obligation of any German administration is the strict following, by the representatives of the German Reich, of the outlined policy, and I expect from you and all your officials that you will guarantee the execution of this policy with respect to the population placed under your authority and are able to stop its violation in an appropriate manner. The national-socialist revolution is receiving its completion through the pressure of Bolshevism and the establishment of a new order in the European Eastern expanse. For this reason it requires of all representatives to be worthy of this struggle, which the Fuhrer began after the November days of 1918 in Munich.

Heil Hitler!

Signature: A. Rosenberg.

The territory between Narva [Narwa] and Tilsit has always been connected through close ties with the German people. A 700-year long history has internally oriented the greater part of the peoples living there to Europe and, in spite of all the threats on the part of Moscow, has rooted them in the Greater-German living space.

The goal of the activity of the Reich Commissioner of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Belorussia consists in the formation of a Reichsprotektorat, and then in the transformation of this territory into part of the Greater German Empire through the enlistment of the cooperation of the—from the racial point of view—full-value elements and through resettlement measures. The Baltic Sea must become an inland northern sea under the dominion of Germany.

The surpluses of commodity production (first of all, agricultural production) must be used by the Reich Commissioner for the good of the German people and, within the limits of the possible, increase the deliveries of this production.

As far as the resettlement policy is concerned, it is necessary to keep in mind 50 percent of the Estonians have been strongly Germanized as a result of merging with Danish, German, and Swedish blood, which makes it possible to regard them as a people related to the Germans. In Latvia a much smaller part of the population is fit for assimilation. For this reason, we should expect stronger opposition, in view of which resettlement on a larger scale is required. We must expect an analogous development in Lithuania as well. The influx of Volksdeutsche [ethnic Germans] could most of all activate the process of the Germanization of the territories at the borders of East Prussia.

These three regions are directly adjoined by Belorussia, where a rather strongly-expressed movement for independence is noticed. It may be suggested, however, that the Bolsheviks succeeded in suppressing this movement.

In any case, Belorussia will have to assume the difficult task with respect to the reception, in the beginning, of that part of the population, which will be resettled from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and from the Polish part of the Warta [Warthe] region. It seems expedient to resettle the Poles from there not in the territory of the General Government [Official name for Nazi-occupied Poland], but in the eastern regions of Belorussia (Smolensk region) in order for them to occupy the place of the Russians there. In so doing, the Commissioner General of Belorussia must attain significant improvements in the expansion of production through the maximum intensive use of manpower in this economically underdeveloped region. It is also necessary to kindle the hostile attitude of the Belorussians to Russia.

The Reich Commissioner, who has his headquarters in Riga, is faced with a mainly constructive task. The territory, which was conquered by German knights, was put on its feet by Hanseatic merchants and the Germanization of which was carried out through a constant influx of German and partially Swedish blood, must be transformed into a powerful bastion at the borders of Germany. The cultural prerequisites for this are present, and the right to settle there later must be granted by the German Empire to those who have distinguished themselves in this and in the First World War (to the descendants of those who perished, those who took part in the battle in Baltic in 1919, etc.).

In the solution of some questions, which may arise as the result of the actions of the enemy, it is necessary to constantly underscore that Bolshevism would have destroyed these peoples if the German Empire had not taken these territories under its protection as well. This fact has foreign policy and military policy consequences. The Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Soviet Territories in the East must prevent any pretensions to the creation of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian states independent of Germany. It is also necessary to make constantly clear that all of these regions are subordinated to a German administration, which has dealings with peoples, and not with states. The fault of the previous governments of these territories must be insistently and constantly emphasized. These governments built their policy on the utilization of the eternal enmity between the Soviet Union and Germany, in their press they came out against the national-socialist German Reich and they made attempts to reach agreement with the Western democracies. They omitted the rare opportunity of entering into an alliance with Germany as independent states. They lost the freedom they supposedly had at the moment when, some time before, in connection with a threat on the part of England, the German Reich for some period guaranteed the reliability of their rear, having concluded a treaty with the Soviet Union. Thus,

during a number of years, the Reich was the sole guarantor of the apparent independence of these peoples, which through the hands of their politicians had the impudence to conduct a struggle with the German Reich. In the giving of all orders concerning these peoples, it is necessary to constantly single out these aspects, and later to substantiate them in the appropriate manner in the press. From the inadmissibility of the creation of independent states—about which, however, no public declarations should be made—also emanate measures which are necessary for the prevention of the formation of so-called independent national armies. Military sovereignty must also be in the hands of the German Reich, and not of the small peoples of the Occupied Soviet Territories in the East. The German Reich, however, is ready for close cooperation with these peoples in the sense that the administration of the municipalities may be headed by representatives of the local population. Among the tasks of the German police is the formation of a reliable Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Belorussian police. In the large cities, along with the German Burgermeister, representative organs of power will also exist, which will include local inhabitants. In addition, under the Commissioner General and the Reich Commissioner there may be special persons empowered to act for them, which they will involve for consultations. For the peoples of the Soviet Occupied Territories in the East printed organs may be published, which must serve mainly for the dissemination of information. After many years of hostile propaganda in the press, it is necessary to be concerned about the objective illumination of life in the German Reich. Arrangements must be made for the publication of a large German daily newspaper, DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG IM OSTLAND. The preparation for this is already under way. The newspaper will serve the goals of the quick and constant information of all the Germans, as well as the Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Belorussians who know the German language.

In the solution of church questions, the Reich Commissariat must show restraint. Denominational associations are basically private institutions, and the Reich Commissioner has no reason to meet with the bishops and other clergymen and to encourage their activity. Declarations of one church or another with respect to any political questions should not be published. Priests of all faiths should not be allowed indiscriminately into the Reich Commissariat for the Soviet Occupied Territories in the East. Petitions of refugee-priests for entry into the territory of the Reich Commissariat must be examined in each case on an individual basis. State subsidies of religious associations should not be made. In the future it will be made clear whether the local administrations being created will be able to do this. In any case, it is necessary to avoid creating the impression that Christianity is conducting a struggle against Bolshevism, when in fact it is conducting a struggle for the freedom of the peoples of Europe, quite independent of the religion of this or that people.

Instructions concerning the procedure for entry, questions of property, currency, etc. will be given separately.

For the beginning, it is important to solve the question of the use of Jews in work, which later will also be legalized by a special order. For them, from the very beginning, compulsory involvement in work is envisaged, and depending on the circumstances they will be assembled in large ghettos or organized for work in columns and sent for the restoration of projects destroyed during the war, the construction of roads, etc.

As far as cultural life is concerned, it is necessary to stop from the very beginning any attempts on the part of the Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Belorussians to create their own universities and VUZ's. There is no need to object to the opening of trade schools and small technical educational institutions. A special decree will be adopted on the introduction of German language lessons, at least in the schools. Preparatory work on the reorganization of the university in Tartu into a German university, which it was before, can be started, as well as on the restoration of the Higher Technical School in Riga.

A representative of the Ministry for Affairs of the Occupied Eastern Territories, as well as a representative of the operational staff of the plenipotentiary of the Fuhrer for the supervision of spiritual and ideological instruction and education of the NSDAP will carry out an examination of the cultural archives and libraries. Later it will be determined what may remain for the future work of the Reich Commissariat, and what under certain circumstances it will be possible to use for the German Reich or as educational aids for the higher school.

In principle, the following procedure must operate for all, exceptions to which are only the provisions contained in the orders of the Fuhrer of 29 June and 17 July 1941, pertaining to the economy and the use of police forces: In all territories the supreme representative of the German Reich is the Reich Minister for Affairs of the Occupied Eastern Territories. The Reich Commissioners are subordinated to him.

It necessary to stop attempts of other party and state services to issue orders directly to appropriate institutions, bypassing the Reich Commissariat, and, without being responsible for these orders, to dispatch them to the Reich Minister for Affairs of the Occupied Eastern Territories. Such a practice will train the higher party and state organs in the established procedure.

The Reich Commissioner has the authority, acting in accordance with the instructions received from above, to independently take measures, which, in his opinion, are necessary for securing the normal work, peace and prosperity of his Reich Commissariat. In all doubtful cases, he, with a view to securing the centralized management of all four Reich Commissariats in the future turns to the Reich Minister for Affairs of the Occupied Territories.

Signature: A. Rosenberg

III

Survey of Reports on Events in the USSR

Chief of the Security Police and the Security Service
Berlin, 19 November 1941

Places and sources of the dispatch of 19 November 1941

Nord 101

(Pryutmann)

Place: Riga—Special group A (Dr Shtekhlener [Stechle-
ner])

Place: Krasnogvardeysk

Forms of communication: Radio. Telegraph (Riga)—
Sonderkommando [Special Command] 15

(Sandberger)

Place: Revel [Tallinn]. Narva. Derpt [Dorpat]. Pernau
[Parnu] Arenbsrug (Ozel [Saaremaa or Sarema])

Forms of communication: Radio (Narva) Telegraph
(Revel)—Feldpost [APO] No 15 119 Sonderkommando
16

(Erlinger)

Place: Tosno. Medved. Mestonya. Staraya Russa.

Forms of communication: Radio (Tosno)—Feldpost
[APO] No 15 119

It is clear to the people that the economic collapse which began in consequence of Bolshevism and the war cannot be overcome by the Estonian people's own efforts without material assistance from the Greater German living space being controlled by Germany. The constantly growing positive attitude of the Estonian people to the Reich is expressed in the relatively strong influx of volunteers into the 4th Volunteer Battalion of the AOK [Armeeoberkommando = Army High Command] and the 3rd Volunteer Battalion, operating in coordination with the AOK and organized by the Special Group A of the Security Police. The greater part of the young generation of the Estonian people regards as a natural duty participation in the active struggle against Bolshevism and at least the provision of assistance in the form of auxiliary military service. The AOK considers the use of its Volunteer Battalions that has taken place up to the present time so successful that the units used before for carrying out tasks of protection and maintaining security in the army rear could be used also at the front for securing security functions in direct proximity of the front line. The Estonian officers who already for months have been serving in special groups and subdivisions of the Wehrmacht have been presented by them for decoration with the Iron Cross for outstanding bravery.

The positive development in the attitude of the Estonian people to everything German that is constantly being observed is supported by the following aspects:

a) The active participation of Estonian self-defense forces in the struggle against partisans and surrounded units of the Red Army in Estonia;

b) active joining of Estonian self-defense forces and Estonian police authorities in the struggle with Bolshevism and Jewry;

c) the use of Estonian officials of urban and rural administrations by field and local commandants' offices;

d) the rapid restoration of cultural work in the cities, partially stimulated by German authorities, which, at least, have not created obstacles;

e) the use of the central Estonian organs of self-government; the cautious and restrained propagandistic activity of these organs in the spirit of anti-Bolshevism, the support of the struggle of the German Wehrmacht against Bolshevism by all means.

Even if a significant part of the Estonian people already now, in terms of their sentiments, has become ripe for inclusion in the Greater German living space being directed by Germany, and if we even take into account that such sentiment is constantly growing, nevertheless it is necessary to state unequivocally that the aspiration to this inclusion, and this signifies the active desire to identify themselves with the Germans, is not taking place. However, it can be noted that prominent Estonian figures, to whom the director of the Estonian administration of self-government Dr Maz presented his strictly confidential program of Germanization calculated for 20 years, reacted positively to this idea of slow and organic Germanization. The circle of these "dedicated" people, naturally, is very small. A significant mass of the Estonian people, practically the entire intelligentsia, today would not only be unable to understand such openly expressed ideas, but would also reject them. This is encouraged by the remains, preserved to this day, of the consciousness of their own statehood, which are still extremely strong. However, on the other hand, in the practical cooperation of the Estonians one can see that they will have a more positive attitude to the possibility of their work in German institutions and to their use in the interests of the conduct of the war than the Norwegians, the Danes, the Dutch, etc. They fully recognize the supremacy of the Germans from the Reich in the organizational and educational sphere, experiencing at the same time the socially and historically conditioned prejudice for the Baltic Germans.

IV

'The Baltic Lands—to the Fighters of the Eastern Front'

(Motto of the Settlers)

Persi Fokrodt, leader of the association of veterans of the former Baltic self-defense detachments and the former Baltic Regiment.

Secret

Strictly confidential! The oral transmission of the contents of this document is permitted only to Reich Germans who absolutely deserve confidence: The reproduction and dissemination of the text is permissible only with the special consent of the author.

Address: P. Fokrodt, Riga—Muhlgraben, Porcelain Factory I. K. Essen

1 June 1943.

After the achievement of final victory, the task arises to create in the East the core of a zone of military settlements which would serve as a reliable defense covering force against any future threats from the East and embody the fighting spirit of their inhabitants, radiating it far beyond the boundaries of these regions to all the territories that are controlled by the German forces of order or are indirectly under their influence. Only the age-old German [Teutonic] Order lands on the shores of the Baltic Sea are called upon and able to fulfill the German mission of a bastion in the East and the role of a symbol of German arms and the German spirit, which this part of the world has embodied in the course of three-fourths of a millennium. During the past 25 years alone, the Baltic in bloody battles with the participation of German soldiers has three times escaped from Bolshevik domination.

In view of this it will be clear and natural if from the front-line soldiers who battled Bolshevism there comes forth, in the name of the Fuhrer, a request for the creation, in the Baltic, of a soldiers' region, the settlement, economic development, and administration of which would be entrusted to those who proved themselves during the armed battle against Bolshevism and did not spare their lives for the sake of saving human civilization from the eastern subhumans.

"The Baltic lands—to the soldiers of the Eastern front"—the slogan is heard.

In support of the legality of such a desire of the front-line soldiers, special reference should be made to the readiness of the Kurland, Livland [Livonia], and Estland [Estonian] nobility, expressed during the World War, to allot one-third of the large land properties, and this is almost 1.5 million hectares, for the creation of German soldiers' settlements. By agreement between the German-nobility corporations and the headquarters in 1918, this action acquired force under international law. In 1919 the Baltic nobility repeatedly expressed its offer in the same volume, addressing it now to the German Volunteer Corps, which had assumed the task of liberating the country from Bolshevism. And this, the second offer, received legal force after the Latvian government concluded a treaty with the representative of the German Empire, August Vinnig, according to which the members of the German Volunteer Corps, having submitted an application, could acquire Latvian citizenship, which would be a necessary condition for assuming ownership of lands allotted by the nobility.

Later, when the German volunteer detachments had liberated the entire country from Bolshevism, the Latvian government, under the influence of England, violated this treaty and, moreover, with the participation of English soldiers, forced the members of the German Volunteer Corps out of Latvia. The local large landowners, who had put at the disposition of the German Volunteer Corps one-third of their possessions and had fought shoulder to shoulder with them in the ranks of the Baltic self-defense forces against the Red Army to the victorious end, turned out to be robbed, when the "agrarian reform" carried out in Latvia took away from them all their fortune without any compensation. For this reason, for the victorious Greater Germany it must be politically a debt of honor, as well as because of the fact that this fully coincides with the programmatic demands advanced already in 1930 by the then national-socialist fraction in the Reichstag (the corresponding interpellation was signed, among others, by: Frik, Kashe, Byurkel, Ditrikh, Ritter von Epp, Ferster, Frank, Khirl, Ley, Terboven), and it is necessary in the process of the future settlement of the Baltic with German front-line soldiers, above all, to restore justice with respect to those soldiers who were treated badly, when Germany was bled white and England used its influence.

The territory of the new regions, where settlements of front-line soldiers will be created, must include, above all, three old [Teutonic] Order countries: Kurland, Livland, and Estonia, and in addition Lithuania, Latgalya [Latgale or Latgallia], and, possibly, other lands in the direction of the East—through Pskov approximately to Novgorod. Included here must be parts of Belorussia suitable for the settlement by Germans for the purpose of strengthening the base of this region of settlement which is significantly pushed out into the Northwest.

The right to settlement of the indicated expanses should be received by soldiers of the German land army, SS troops, air force and naval forces, who have distinguished themselves in the battle against Bolshevism and who fought in the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, as well as members of the German volunteer detachments, who fought in the Baltic during 1918-1919, the 1st Reserve Guard Division, the Baltic self-defense detachments, and the Baltic Regiment. Furthermore, this right should be given to the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian volunteers of the Eastern Front in the present war, as well as to the Estonian and Latvian volunteers who fought against Bolshevism during 1918-1920. As a special exception, the servicemen decorated with the Knight's Cross, even if they fought on other fronts and in other seas, must be regarded as having the right to the settlement of the eastern regions. Whether the possibility of looking after the wives and children of fallen soldiers is given depends on what the possibilities will be after the satisfaction of the needs of the soldiers of the Eastern Front.

In principle, we are talking only about soldiers who have distinguished themselves during military actions—those who merited if only one decoration in battles against

Bolshevism. Consequently, for the German front-line soldiers and the soldiers of other nationalities taking part in the present war, the necessary condition for receiving permission to settle could be the presence of such military decorations as the Iron Cross, the Eastern Medal, the badge for injury, the battle badge, etc. As far as the volunteers of the Baltic self-defense detachments and the Baltic Regiment are concerned, here the Combat Cross and the Badge of Honor may be regarded as the best evidence of their merits. Servicemen of the German Volunteer Corps, it is true, also have the Baltic Cross, as proof of participation in the military operations of 1919, however here verification based on entries in the soldier's service and pay book and in the personnel lists since, unfortunately, they were rather hasty and indiscriminate in awarding the Baltic Cross, and consequently among the decorated there may prove to be volunteers who did not take any part in battles at all and therefore did not distinguish themselves. In including Latvian and Estonian volunteers of the years 1918-1920 among those having the right to settlement, the chief evidence may also be the entry in the soldier's service and pay book or the personnel list, in order to certify that so-and-so actually did take part in battles against Bolshevism, and not in the military operations against German Balts inspired by the English in 1919, which were aimed at the liquidation of the right to settlement obtained by the Germans and, consequently, were in diametrical contradiction to the purport of the above-mentioned slogan of the settlers.

In the creation of the soldiers' settlements in the eastern regions it is of great significance whether the future settlers have an inner attachment to those places, for they must constitute a uniform community. The question can only about those claimants who voluntarily choose the eastern regions as the place of settlement.

For settlers in a rural locality, estates with a size of about 1,000 hectares should be created and peasant farmsteads with a size of approximately 60 hectares of land, with, in both cases, at least in the basic nucleus of the old Baltic—Kurland, Livland, and Estonia—on the average, one-third of every settlement unit representing arable land, and two-thirds—forest. Estates with an area of 1,000 hectares each will be granted to servicemen decorated with the Knight's Cross and to others who have particularly distinguished themselves in the struggle against Bolshevism, as well as front-line soldiers from among the large landowners, who owned estates in the German Empire or prior to 1920 in the Baltic, or to their heirs. In order to restore in full scope the agreements concluded at one time between the three Baltic states and the German Empire and thereby to liquidate injustice inflicted by foreign forces, it is necessary to strictly observe that no less than one-third of the former large land properties in the old Baltic regions are obtained for the settlers.

The necessary lands required for transfer to the front-line soldiers are made up, above all, of the large land properties that were forcefully taken away after the First

World War in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania; of lands which prior to 1939 were in the possession of the state; of lands which remained unmanaged as the result of the implementation of the Bolshevik policy of exterminating and deporting people; of the lands of those rural landlords who displayed pro-Soviet or anti-German activity, who refused to serve in the legion, etc. In the cities, too, the houses and industrial enterprises necessary for distribution to front-line soldiers will be taken from former state property, from the property of Jews, from ownerless properties, as well as from the property of persons who harbor pro-Soviet or anti-German sentiments, deserters, etc.

The transfer of rural and urban property into the hands of front-line soldiers, who at the price of their life defended the country from destruction, will be regarded by all sensible and fair circles of the country's population as an act of supreme justice. There must be fundamental adherence to the rule that all rural property, which in the course of a number of years was legally, that is outside the framework of the so-called "agrarian reform", acquired by Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians, as well as urban property legally acquired by them, must become inviolable, with the exception of cases when we are dealing with people who have been proved guilty of pro-Soviet or anti-German actions.

Latvian, Estonian, and Lithuanian young farms [as published], which during the creation of land properties of 1,000 hectares had to part with their plots of arable land, in the case of their political loyalty, must not simply be driven away, but resettled in neighboring regions. At the same time, the urban dwellers, from whom houses and enterprises will be taken away for transfer to front-line soldiers, should be sent as far away as possible to the eastern regions located beyond the boundaries of the old empire. Thereby it would be possible to disperse the accumulation of Anglophile and Russophile elements in the capitals of the former Baltic states.

Academician Challenges Estonian 1920 Treaty

90UN1248A Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 10,
5-11 Mar 90 p 12

[Interview with Yevgeniya Trofimovicha Usenko, doctor of law, chief academic specialist of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by unnamed NEDELYA correspondent: "On the Tartu Treaty and Today's Events Around It"; date and place not specified; first paragraph is NEDELYA introduction]

[Text] Not long ago, the 70th anniversary of the Tartu Treaty between Estonia and the RSFSR was widely celebrated. A NEDELYA correspondent asked Yevgeniya Trofimovicha Usenko, doctor of law, chief academic specialist of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to talk about the history of this agreement and today's events around it.

[Usenko] The peace treaty signed on 2 February 1920 in Yuryev (now Tartu) between the Estonian Republic and the RSFSR put an end to the participation of Estonia in the war against the Soviet Union on the side of the Entente. However, the significance of this act went far beyond the bounds of the establishment of peace between two neighboring states. V. I. Lenin at once characterized it as a treaty of world historical significance.

In order to understand this high assessment, it is necessary to recall that the Soviet state, from the first days of its existence, came forward as a champion of the right of the nations and peoples of the world to self-determination.

And these were not empty words. The recognition of the independence of Finland, the rejection of agreements on the division of Poland, the recognition of the independence of Soviet Estonia (the Estonian Labor Commune), and other analogous steps during 1917-1918 supported this. And nevertheless, with all their importance, they essentially represented unilateral foreign policy acts of Soviet Russia. The Tartu Peace Treaty became the first treaty in which the right of nations to self-determination was formally registered in international law. In Article 2 of this treaty it was stated:

"Proceeding from the right of all peoples to free self-determination up to the complete separation from the state to which they belong, which has been proclaimed by the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, Russia recognizes unconditionally the independence of the Estonian state and repudiates voluntarily and for ever any sovereign rights, which belonged to Russia with respect to the Estonian people and land by virtue of the legal order that had existed, as well as on the basis of international treaties, which in the sense indicated here lose their force in the future."

Soviet policy of non-forcible peace proved to be more than the pressure which the imperialist states exerted on Estonia in order to prevent the conclusion of the Tartu Peace Treaty.

The Tartu Treaty was of great significance for Estonia. Thanks to the October Revolution, it received the possibility of creating its own sovereign state for the first time in its history. The Entente powers, which had compelled Estonia to take part in the anti-Soviet campaign, did not recognize its statehood. If it had not been for the victories of the Red Army on the fronts of the Civil War, there is no doubt that the White generals with the blessing of their allies—France, England and the United States—would have quickly liquidated the Estonian Republic, as well as the other Baltic states. The Tartu Treaty signified full recognition of the Estonian Republic under international law, its recognition *de jure* on the part of one of the great powers—Russia.

A significant number of the articles of the Tartu Treaty (there is a total of 20) and the supplements to it indicate that Soviet Russia did not limit itself to the formal

recognition of the independence of the Estonian state, but showed, at the same time, an understanding of the necessity of strengthening its real sovereignty. Estonia was released from responsibility for the long-term and other obligations of Russia. To it were transferred, without indemnity, the shares of the firms located in Estonia, which belonged to the banks of Russia, as well as the ships located in its territorial waters and other property. Special mention must be made of financial assistance. On the basis of the Tartu Treaty, Estonia received R15 million in gold from Russia, which guaranteed gold-backing for the paper money in circulation in Estonia.

One should not think, of course, that the economic assistance to Estonia was advantageous unilaterally. I have already said what enormous political and general historical significance the Tartu Treaty had for the RSFSR. But it gave it also a direct material advantage. Suffice it to say that already in 1920 Soviet Russia received through Estonia 76 percent of all the goods it imported.

In general, as you see, Estonia has every reason to celebrate the anniversary of the signing of the Tartu Treaty as a most important event in its history. But it seems to me that such date should be observed in Moscow as well.

[Correspondent] As a historical anniversary, obviously, yes. But, you see, in Estonia the view is spreading tenaciously that this treaty continues to be in force, and on this basis far-reaching conclusions are drawn. Why, and is that really so?

[Usenko] No. According to the general provision of international law, a state which enters into a federation ends its existence as a subject of international law and becomes a new legal subject, a subject of the federation. From this time on, its rights and obligations in principle are determined not by international law, but by the law of the federation. In some cases, it may possess to one degree or another international law capacity, but only on the basis of the laws (constitution) of the federation.

Thus, the Estonian Republic ceased to exist, at least at the moment when it entered the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. From that moment, the Tartu Treaty, too, lost its legal force. It became the property of history.

[Correspondent] But in Estonia today the legal validity of its entrance into the Soviet Union in 1940 is generally denied. . . .

[Usenko] In essence everything is reduced to the denial of the existence of the existence of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and to the assertion that legally only the Estonian Republic continues to exist. Frankly speaking, these arguments not only seem extremely far from practical reality, but they are also legally unfounded and unconvincing. They can sooner be considered as the fruit of emotions.

Judge for yourself. How must the people's deputy of the non-existent Estonian SSR feel in the the USSR Supreme Soviet? Or what attitude should the citizen of Estonia have to the laws being adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the supposedly non-existing Estonian SSR? Or how can the Supreme Soviet of an allegedly non-existing republic raise the question of strengthening its sovereignty within the framework of the Union or about its departure from the Union? And in general, can any state organs exist in a non-existent republic?

[Correspondent] Perhaps, it is assumed, that the Estonian SSR exists, but it did not exist at the moment of the acceptance of Estonia into the USSR, that it was a "state-legal pretence," as this said in the Declaration on the Question of the State Independence of Estonia, which was adopted at the "meeting" of the Estonian SSR people's deputies of all levels on 2 April of last year?

[Usenko] To me, as a lawyer, this construction, too, does not seem convincing. If we are to summarize the chief arguments which have been cited in the press, they come to the following: On the basis of the secret protocols between Molotov and Ribbentrop (meant are the secret Soviet-German protocols of 1939), the Soviet Union perpetrated a series of foreign policy and military actions against Estonia, which grossly violated the Tartu Peace Treaty. Under the pressure of the Soviet Union, Estonia found itself forced to conclude with it the Mutual Assistance Treaty of 28 September 1939, which gave it the possibility to introduce its troops into the territory of Estonia. The subsequent introduction of Soviet troops on 17 June 1940 signified aggression against Estonia and its occupation. In the conditions of occupation, the "state-legal pretence" was realized, which in essence signified the annexation of Estonia by the Soviet Union. Let us see to what extent these arguments correspond to the objective facts.

First. Were the Soviet-German protocols that have been mentioned really the basis for the subsequent events in the Baltic, including in Estonia? The text of the protocols itself does not provide any basis for such an assertion. However, since the indicated protocol represented an agreement, and any agreement presupposes the agreed will of the contracting parties, the question may be raised: Was not the will of the parties, agreed on in this respect, concealed behind the formula, which attributed, in particular Estonia, to the "sphere of interests" of the USSR?

As far as Germany is concerned, a negative answer to this question was given by Berlin itself. This was mentioned by A. N. Yakovlev in his interview with the newspaper PRAVDA of 18 August 1989. At issue is the declaration of Hitler, in which he, attempting to justify the Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, accused the USSR of the fact that "the USSR, in spite of declarations, made at the time of the conclusion of the agreement, to the effect that it is not inclined to Bolshevize and to annex the states which enter into its sphere of influence, set itself the goal of expanding its military

power in westerly direction, wherever this seemed possible, thus carrying out the further Bolshevization of Europe."

There is no evidence of any kind that, during the signing of the protocol of 28 August 1939, the Soviet leadership foresaw or in some way planned the Sovietization of the Baltic. It was concerned (as in the preceding negotiations with the English and French) only about not permitting the seizure of the Baltic by Germany and the transformation of the Baltic into a springboard against the USSR. Consequently, the Soviet-German protocols of 1939 were not connected with the events in the Baltic in 1940, either formally or in terms of their conception.

Second. Was the Mutual Assistance Treaty of 28 September 1939 between the USSR and Estonia really concluded under pressure from the Soviet Union? For this assertion, too, there is not substantiation. The president of the Estonian Republic, [Konstantin] Pats, in his radio declaration of 29 September 1939 mentioned especially that "the pact on mutual assistance does not touch on our sovereign rights" and that the negotiations which led to the conclusion of the pact "were genuinely equal negotiations, in which the views and suggestions of both sides were heard and taken into account."

Third. Did "aggression" by the Soviet Union against Estonia take place in 1940? Aggression is a legal concept, a concept in international law, and it does permit an arbitrary interpretation. The USSR and Estonia in 1940 were participants of the multilateral Convention on the Definition of Aggression, signed in London on 3 July 1933 for the purpose of "putting into effect, among their countries, precise rules defining aggression." Among the enumeration of actions in Article 2 of the Convention, which qualify as aggression, there is not (and there cannot be) a case where troops are introduced on the territory of a country with the consent of its government. Since the additional contingent of Soviet troops was introduced in Estonia in 1940 with the consent of the Estonian government, this action cannot qualify as aggression.

Fourth. Did military occupation take place? This assertion is completely lacking in substantiation. "Military occupation" is also a legal concept. In Estonia a Soviet occupation regime was never introduced and did not exist. There were no occupation organs of power, no organs of an occupation administration, their decrees and orders, on its territory, there was nothing that was characteristic of an occupation regime. The presence of foreign troops—this is still no occupation.

Fifth. Annexation? The classic definition of annexation was given in the Soviet Decree on Peace: The forceful joining or the forceful retention of nations in the boundaries of a given state. Can one consider as "being forcefully retained" in the boundaries of the Soviet Union a republic which, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, has the right of free secession from the USSR and a people which not once has expressed the

desire to make use of this right? Evidently, not. As far as "forceful joining" is concerned, although there are no formal reasons for such an assertion (Estonia was accepted into the Union at the request of its State Duma), there remains the question: Was this not a distortion of the will of the Estonian people? But this is a question for future historians. "For future ones" because now the situation in Estonia is so "warmed up" that it is difficult to speak about a calm analysis and an aspiration to establish the truth.

[Correspondent] But nevertheless, what is your opinion about this question?

[Usenko] I can only say what I know. Yes, there was pressure on President Pats. Yes, the government, as a result of this pressure, resigned. Yes, the right-wing parties were not allowed in the election campaign. . . . But there was also another thing. The political prisoners were released from prison, the communist party was legalized, and other democratic measures were put into effect. There is no information about the interference of the Red Army in the election campaign. And here in these difficult conditions, the Estonian people took an active part in the elections to the State Duma of 14-15 July 1940 and in a secret vote gave decisive support to the "Union of the Working People of Estonia." How can this be explained? By pressure? But to pressure a freedom-loving people is not so simple. But attempts of such pressure could hardly bring the results being desired, especially in a secret election, sooner—the contrary.

I think, the point is something else. Apparently, deep in the consciousness of a significant part of the Estonian people there lived the idea of Soviet power, which was crushed at the beginning of 1918 by the German military boot. (It should be forgotten that, in the elections to the Constituent Assembly in 1917, more than 40 percent of the voters voted for the Estonian Bolsheviks). As far as another significant part of the Estonian people is concerned, which in 1940 gave its vote to the "Union of the Working People of Estonia," it could see in the establishment of Soviet power a guarantee against the seizure of Estonia by German fascism. But, I repeat, I prefer to leave the elucidation of these questions to the historians.

[Correspondent] Referring to the historians, do you not want to say that these questions are now topical?

[Usenko] On the practical-political plane, yes. You see, the legal status of the Estonian SSR is now determined not by the Tartu Treaty and not by acts pertaining to its entry into the Soviet Union, but by the USSR Constitution, which was adopted with its participation.

[Correspondent] Why does this not suit certain circles in Estonia?

[Usenko] The point is that, in conformity with Article 72 of the USSR Constitution, any Soviet republic may secede from membership in the Union. The chief goal of the most active organizers around the jubilee of the Tartu Treaty is not independence in itself. Making use of

the idea of state independence which has acquired significant popularity in Estonia, they wish to organically connect it with the recognition of the illegitimacy of Soviet power in Estonia and its introduction as a Soviet republic into membership in the USSR and thus to attain their goal automatically. To kill two birds with one stone, so to speak.

To put it simply, in human terms, it is great pity that this campaign is accompanied by an aggravation of inter-nationality relations, by insults aimed at perfectly innocent people, whom they call "invaders". The completely legitimate interest of the public in the remarkable Tartu Treaty, according to the rather precise expression of one Estonian author, has acquired "an explosive character."

There can be no turning back. There can be no movement backward, only forward. But forward—this means to attain with all the union republics a strengthening of their sovereignty within the framework of the Union, which, from my point of view, is more reasonable. And if the question of self-determination up to separation is raised, this must be made not on the basis of artificial political constructions, in circumvention of the USSR Constitution, but by a legal path with the straightforwardness and dignity which is characteristic of the Estonian people.

We Must Free Ourselves of the Past, Says Noted Kazakh Academic

18320026B

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata LENINSHIL ZHAS in Kazakh of 13 Feb 90 carries on page 2 a 4,500-word Qonysbek Botbayev interview with KaSSR Academy of Sciences Academician Salyq Zimanuly Zimanov entitled: "An Evil Person is the Slave of his Times..." The interview, recorded by LENINSHIL ZHAS special reporter Qonysbek Botbayev focuses on the academic's views on perestroika as it relates to the attitudes of the past and of the present. In the interview Zimanov expresses a strong preference for a complete break with the past in politics, social organization, ideology and ethnic relations (the theory of "mutual coming together of ethnic groups" of the years of stagnation no longer obtains, he concludes, ethnic relations are more complex than that). He stresses, for example, with regard to the party and the government, the need for authorities to let go of the old attitudes of the past. And while he does not seem willing to abandon the party entirely, he makes clear that its role as reactionary dictator of all aspects of national life must cease (it still plays this role today in some areas, he laments) if the party itself is to have a role in the new society. And this new society, he makes clear, if it is to be a society of laws, must be just that, with laws and not political hierarchies governed by old ideas, still too prevalent in his view, dominating. (In this connection Zimanov argues for an independent judiciary).

Turning to the author's historical interests, Zimanov states his conviction that the era in which historical research has been dominated by ideological concerns is

over forever. And to this end, he goes on, there must now be a thorough-going re-evaluation of all historical assumptions regarding the past, including established evaluations of events such as the 1781 annexation of the Kazakhs by Russia. Elaborating on this theme, Zimanov goes on to look at the pluralism of Kazakhstan just before and after the 1917 Revolution. Through this examination, Zimanov suggests indirectly that the Kazakhs, even though clearly benefiting from the fertilizations provided by leading Russian thinkers, were then quite capable of dealing with their own destinies and were in many ways quite sophisticated in their politics. Their inexperience of the present with pluralism, he thus indirectly suggests, is not their fault but the fault of others.

Work of Ukrainian Commissions for Purge Victims Examined

90UN1077A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
3 Feb 90 p 2

[Article by T. Odínokova: "Both the Good Name and Mental Trouble"]

[Text] The guarantee of the rights and interests of the rehabilitated and the perpetuation of the memory of the victims of Stalin's illegalities—this important and noble work is being conducted by special commissions created at the Councils of People's Deputies in the Ukraine.

The year [19]37...Of course, there were the years '34, and '38, and other years, which have left a dark trail in the history of our country. But the year '37...It became, as it were, a distinctive sign of that time.

Those who were born in the year '37 are already over 50 years old. Even for them, the time of Stalin is history. But for the 20-year olds? In our impetuous, stormy and event-filled life—do they have time to reflect about those still living, who went through the illegalities, the injustices, and the humiliations of those years?

But they, these people, with their broken fates, unrealized talents, and unfulfilled dreams, still live among us. And although tens of thousands of them have already been rehabilitated, there are also those to whom their good name has to be returned, about whom we need to be concerned in a human manner.

Here it is almost a year already that, at the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Commission for Assistance in Securing the Rights and Interests of Rehabilitated Persons and the Creation of Monuments for the Victims of the Repressions, which took place during the 1930's-1940's and at the beginning of the 1950's, has been at work. Such commissions are operating at the oblast and many city Soviets of People's Deputies.

Recently a session of the Commission was held at the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. It began with a report of the chairman of the Commission, A. P. Lyashko.

In 1989 alone, Aleksandr Pavlovich reported, 6,042 turned to all the created commissions. 2,080 of them visited for a personal reception. The members of the republic commission provided assistance in order to assure the efficient review of the materials and cases of those illegally suppressed. As a result, the organs of the procuracy and the courts took decisions concerning the rehabilitation of more than 1,100 persons, who in these questions had turned directly to the commission.

The range of questions, in regard to which the people are appealing, is very wide: Rehabilitation, return of confiscated housing and property, and one-time assistance. Relatives and friends have an interest in the fate of those repressed, the reason for their death, and they want to find out the place of burial...

A great deal of laborious work is under way. The procuracy, the KGB, the judicial authorities, and the social security organs are engaged in this work. A lot is being done to help those who have suffered both morally and materially. More than 250 applications for the return of confiscated property or its value have been satisfied. 55 applicants have had their pensions increased, and housing conditions for more than 100 people have been improved.

Local Soviets, the social security organs, the Red Cross, enterprises, and kolkhozes are taking part in this work...

Many positive examples can be cited. But, unfortunately, there are still manifestations of callousness, indifference, and bureaucratism. V. P. Yablonskiy, who was repressed in 1938 and who receives a small pension, asked that he be given a one-time allowance. But since questions of material assistance are decided at the local level, a letter was sent from the Commission at the Supreme Soviet to the Voroshilovgrad Oblispolkom. After 3 months, a formal reply arrived: The deputy chief of the oblast administration of justice reported that the question is being decided by the Chervonopraporskiy Rural Soviet.

So that we do not know to this day, said A. P. Lyashko, whether the local authority helped a man who for 60 years already is a member of the Communist Party.

Or another example. In the village of Tomashevka of Dunayevetskiy Rayon of Khmel'nitskiy Oblast, there lives the 80-year old G. G. Savruk. Her husband was repressed, and she herself was exiled. At present G. G. Savruk receives a pension of only 7 rubles. This is not a misprint. Seven! The old woman made a request to help her collect the documents about her labor service during her years of exile, to increase her pension. The Commission at the Supreme Soviet asks the oblispolkom to treat the request of comrade Savruk attentively. Finally, signed by the deputy chairman of the Khmel'nitskiy Oblispolkom, A. A. Gorodetska, comes the answer: We cite: "...The applicant is living in a house by rights of private ownership with daughter, born in 1939, who receives a pension based on the second group of disability from general illness in the amount of 70 rubles a

month. The family is using a personal plot of 0.15 hectares in size. There are no reasons for increasing the pension of the applicant at the present time."

In the work of the Commission, as well as other organs connected with assistance in securing the rights and interests of the rehabilitated, there have been quite a few difficult aspects up to now. One of them is the return of confiscated property or housing.

In Gorodishche of Cherkassy Oblast, instead of a house illegally confiscated at one time, where four families live now, it was decided to allot two apartments to the daughters of a rehabilitated person. In Nikolayev Oblast, a kolkhoz transferred the cost of a confiscated house to A. I. Kudinov.

But here P. I. Romanishina from Ternopol writes with bitterness that their house was illegally destroyed at one time, the stable was taken away by the kolkhoz, and now they returned the money for all this...R10.45. Another example. In a village a house stands empty, from which at one time they literally threw out a family. There are even witnesses of this illegality. But they do not return the house—there are no papers. Those who committed the illegality did not take pains to compile them. And the present-day bureaucrats will not take a step without a piece of paper.

Such complications would not exist if the questions connected with compensation for rehabilitated citizens were more precisely regulated on the legal plane, many of the speakers said.

Enormous work of the Commission, with the support of the public, is connected with the perpetuation of the memory of the victims of Stalinism. In particular, a great deal has been done on the initiative of the Chernigov Oblast Commission. The burial places of the victims of repression in the Khalyavinskiy Forest have been established. In the oblast and rayon newspapers they publish the surnames of the rehabilitated. If a person has his good name returned to him, all must know about this.

In Kiev a contest is being held for the design of a monument in the Bykovnya Woods [urochishche], and soon people will be able bring flowers there and to bow before the sacred place.

In Vinnitsa, a monument marker has been established for the victims of the Time of Stalin. On the day of its opening, a meeting took place there. The place was consecrated by representatives of the clergy. In many villages of the oblast memorial parks have been created.

Work experience which deserves attention was shared by the secretary of the Commission from Odessa, G. Ye. Grashchenko. He reported that in the oblast they are trying to restore the rights not only of the rehabilitated, but also of their widows. The chairman of the oblast Commission, and the Kharkov Oblispolkom, G. F. Ponomareva, reported that more than 10,000 people

have been rehabilitated. And in Kharkov, on the territory of one of the burial-grounds, where more than 6,800 victims were buried, a monument has been established.

The chairman of the Vinnitsa Commission, A. I. Loshkarev, the writer G. M. Mushketik, the director of the Institute of the History of the Party at the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, F. M. Rudich, and others spoke at the session.

V. S. Shevchenko, member of the Politburo of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, took part in the work of the session.

Ukraine Famine Act of 'Conscious Genocide'

90UN1335A Moscow *MOLODAYA GWARDIYA*
in Russian No 2, Feb 90 pp 137-143

[Article by historian Sergey Naumov, Magadan, under the rubric of "Documents Testify": "The 1933 Famine: Executioners and Victims"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] At the January (1933) plenum of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) one of the participants commented out loud during a speech by L. Kaganovich: "But they have already started to eat people in our area!" To which Kaganovich replied: "If we give way to nerves, they will eat you and me... Would that be better?"

There is nothing to be added to this revelation of cannibalism.

The most monstrous crime of the 30's was the artificially-caused famine in the Ukraine and Southern Russia in 1932-1933. The entire leadership of the country at that time bears responsibility to one degree or another for this abuse. But the main organizer of the famine was the now-hailed Lazar Moiseyevich Kaganovich.

As head of the agricultural department of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee, Kaganovich directly led the campaign for the forced seizure of all grain from the peasantry, which resulted in the famine.

It should be noted that the organization of the 1932-1933 famine was a natural stage in the monstrous act of the genocide of the country's Slavic population. Long before the year 1937, so mourned in the "Memorial," G. Zinovyev (Yevsey-Gershen Aronovich Apfelbaum) set the task: "We must attract 90 of the 100 million who populate Soviet Russia. We should not talk with the rest—they should be destroyed..." The estimated figure which Zinovyev specified for the people subject to destruction was exceeded even before the start of the violent collectivization. The collectivization and "dekulakization," during the conduct of which the people's commissar for agriculture, Y.A. Yakovlev (Epshteyn), and the chairman of the Kolkhozsentr (All-Union

Council of Collective Farms), G.N. Kaminskiy, "distinguished themselves," led to the death of new millions of peasants.

The famine of 1932-1933 was especially organized to break once and for all the peasantry's active and passive resistance to collectivization. This explains the fact, which at first glance is paradoxical, that the boundaries of the famine coincided with the boundaries of the country's granary.

With support from punitive detachments of the GPU (State Political Administration), special brigades ruthlessly confiscated grain from the peasants. In a number of cases they demanded more grain than had been harvested. They explained this by saying that the peasants supposedly had a habit of hiding some of the grain, even if prior to this the corresponding commission had carried out an inspection of the harvest and established average figures for a given region. The amounts required to feed one's family and to provide cattle fodder and seed material were not taken into account.

"...They asked people the same question: 'Where is the grain hidden?' Those whom they suspected of hiding it were locked in the 'cooler,' and the agents went to destroy the farm: they pulled down stoves, tore up floors, and if they found anything that was edible, they took it all" (See SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA No 115, 1989). As a result the rural population was forced to eat tree bark, mice, gophers and frogs for food...

Then began the wholesale deaths from hunger. "At that time our father died, then our 14-year old brother Vasya and our twin sisters, Katya and Dunya, born in 1927. We ate weeds with a little water. They took the corpses to the cemetery by the cartload. They put up to 300 in one hole," testified one peasant woman who miraculously survived. There were villages where 25-50 percent of the population died and some where all 100 percent perished.

The hungry tried to find salvation in the cities. But there too the merciless tsar-famine reigned. In the streets of the Ukraine, as foreign diplomats reported, "Everywhere one can see emaciated people, many are dying right there in the street, without attracting particular attention from the citizens, who are already used to this." Photographs of those who died of hunger on the city streets have survived; they were taken secretly by the wife of the German consul in Kharkov. The poignant photo-documents included in this issue of the magazine were published in the 30's in the foreign press. In the USSR the leadership of that time completely denied the famine, and all reports about it were banned. No aid was given to the hungry; near the big cities the "anti-profitsteering detachments" ruthlessly fished them out and returned them to where the famine reigned... Foreign food aid was categorically rejected. When a proposal of this kind came from the USA, the people's commissar for foreign affairs, Litvinov (Vallakh-Finkelshteyn) stated on 13 January 1934 in a special letter that there

was no famine, and all information about it was an insinuation. In a sugary sketch about the life of the former OGPU (United State Political Administration at the Council of People's Commissars, USSR) deputy chairman, Meyer Abramovich Trimisser (of all people), an extremely false claim was made to the effect that in 1933 "they were buying foodstuffs abroad" in order to "help the hungry" (CHEKISTY, Moscow, 1987, p 226). Under Stalin there were no grain purchases abroad. On the contrary, during this time convoys with grain moved to foreign purchasers through stations filled with Ukrainian and Russian peasants dying of hunger.

A terrible consequence of the famine was cannibalism: people who had lost their senses became devoid of human countenance; they literally hunted each other, especially children... Here is the evidence of one contemporary of those tragic events: "I went into one of the cottages and was petrified: against the wall a shrivelled-up child of five or six lay on a wooden bench; bending over him was his mother, holding a knife in her hand, and she was trying with difficulty to cut off his head. The knife and her hands were covered with blood, the child was jerking his legs convulsively (...) For an instant I caught her glance; she looked at me but hardly saw. Her eyes were dry and devoid of any sparkle; they reminded one of the eyes of a dead person whose eyelids have not been closed.(...) An hour later we went into the cottage in order to record this case of cannibalism, but we saw the woman I mentioned lying on the dirt floor, face up with open, dead eyes...She clutched to her breast the severed head of the child." And such cases "were not the only ones in the village."

The same thing happened in the Kuban. "...A most terrible famine is taking place there; people are eating people. Many, many are dying, and the rest come; they cut the meat off them and eat it... And they are dying in such a way that wherever they are walking, that is where they fall and die; there is no one to bury them: they lie until they disappear and only the bones are lying there, as it used to happen with horses, and now it is happening with people as well" (See KAVKAZKIY KAZAK (Belgrade) No 3, 1933, p 6).

An outstanding Russian political figure, V.V. Shulgin recounts how a doctor, who left Akhtarsko-Primorskaya Stanitsa (large Cossack village), which is on the Sea of Azov, "rode for many hours in a car, heading north. The car went along a road which was overgrown with high grass because no one had driven there in a long time. The streets of villages were overgrown with weeds as tall as a man. People driving through did not discover a single living being in the villages: lying in the cottages were skeletons and skulls, there were no people anywhere, nor any farm animals, nor birds, nor cats or dogs. Everything had perished from the all-encompassing famine" (See Shulgin, V.V. "Dni, 1920". Moscow, 1989, p 71).

It is essential to note that the peasants, especially the Cossacks, resisted the genocide as strongly as they could. By no means did they resemble that spineless herd

portrayed in the racist verses of Ye. Yevtushenko entitled "Russkiye koaly..." (Russian Koalas). For example, in November-December of 1932 the residents of the Tikhoretskaya Stanitsa in the Kuban revolted. For several weeks they bravely repulsed attacks by the punitive expedition members, who were armed to the teeth. But the forces were not equal. The Rostov GPU "sent into the Cossack villages a punitive expedition consisting of three detachments of special forces, which included Latvians, Magyars and Chinese, all holders of the Order of the Red Banner, 'honored warriors' of the old VChK (All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage), which was called up only in special cases. In Tikhoretskaya Stanitsa alone this expedition arrested and shot about 600 old and middle-aged Cossacks in the course of three days. Every day these 'brilliant internationalists' led 200 people out from the prisons on to the square by 12 o'clock noon and fired at them with machine guns, having first stripped them naked. The dead were thrown into previously prepared pits..." (See KUBAN No 7, 1989, p 58).

In the Northern Caucasus there was repeat of the 1919 tragedy of the "de-Cossackization," when Sverdlov and Trotskiy had ordered a mass terror to be unleashed against the Cossacks: a shower of chemical warfare shells rained down on the villages, and the newspapers carried racist articles which said that "there is a great similarity between the psychology of the Cossacks and the psychology of certain representatives of the zoological world..." When implementing the criminal policy of "de-Cossackization" I. Yakir (the same one who was a future "victim of Stalinism") flatly demanded that a "percentage of the male population be destroyed" in the Cossack villages. Kaganovich, "Iron Genrikh" Yagoda (Genrikh Grishevich Iyeguda) and Yankel Gamarnik (another "victim of Stalinism"), all arrived in the Kuban, and in December 1932 they organized the total evacuation of 16 Kuban villages to the north. An order concerning the reprisal against the residents of the Poltavskaya Stanitsa has been preserved. Here is this terrible document (it is cited here in its original form):

ORDER of the Commandant of the Poltavskaya Stanitsa, Slavyanskiy Rayon of the Soviet Control Commission, 17 December 1932

Stanitsa Poltavskaya

No 1

The Presidium of the Northern Caucasus Kray Ispolkom of Soviets, on 17 December 1932, has DECREED:

Because Poltavskaya Stanitsa, which has been put on the black list, despite all the measures adopted, continues to maliciously sabotage all the economic measures of Soviet power and is under the thumb of the kulak

—the EVACUATION OF ALL RESIDENTS of Poltavskaya Stanitsa (individual peasant farmers and kolkhoz members) from the territory of the kray, with the exception of a) those citizens who have proved in deed

their devotion to Soviet power in the civil war and in the struggle against the kulaks and the b) resettlement communes.

For openly giving way to kulak sabotage in the sowing and purchasing of grain, the DISSOLUTION of the Poltavskaya Stanitsa Soviet.

For the implementation of the evacuation, the preservation of property, and of buildings left behind, of plantings and of the means of production—the ORGANIZATION OF A COMMANDANT'S OFFICE, which is guided in its actions by the special situation.

I have been appointed Commandant of the Poltavskaya Stanitsa.

To carry out the present decree of the Kray Ispolkom Presidium and on the basis of the special rights and powers granted to me:

#1

The following are FORBIDDEN:

a) For the population of the stanitsa the wearing or keeping of any kind of weapon, either firing or non-firing, ammunition or object of military equipment without the special permission of the Commandant's Office. All weapons, whether carried on the person or kept in any place whatsoever (including hidden, buried, etc.), ammunition and objects of military equipment must be handed over to the Administration of the Commandant's Office within 24 hours following the publication of the order;

b) any departure from the stanitsa not only by the native residents of Poltavskaya Stanitsa, but also by all citizens located within its boundaries following the publication of the order without the special permission of the Commandant's Office;

c) any movement within the area of the stanitsa from dusk to dawn without special passes issued by the Commandant's Office;

d) any performances or meetings, both on the streets and in homes—without the special permission of the Commandant's Office;

e) any kind of trade either in the markets, streets and squares, or at individual farms, bootlegging, etc;

f) any kind of breakage, disassembly or destruction of any kind of structure—residential or outbuildings—means of production, plantings, etc.

#2

The population of the stanitsa is warned that violators of the present order, especially people discovered to be engaged in anti-Soviet agitation, the dissemination of provocative rumors, the incitement of panic, breakage and destruction of property or the means of production will be subjected to the strictest measures of punishment, both

administrative as well as judicial, including the application of the highest measure of social protection—EXECUTION.

#3

I WARN families whose heads have hidden that they will be EVACUATED FROM THE KRAY, REGARDLESS OF THE PRESENCE OR CAPTURE OF THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY.

The heads of families who have disappeared from the stanitsa before the publication of the present order are required to appear in the stanitsa within three days; otherwise, they will be considered enemies of Soviet power, with all the attendant consequences.

#4

I CALL on all honest workers, kolkhoz members and working peasant farmers who are devoted to Soviet power; red partisans, members of the territorial units and Red Army families TO GRANT BROAD ASSISTANCE TO THE COMMANDANT'S OFFICE IN THE FULFILLMENT OF THE TASKS ASSIGNED TO IT.

Commandant of Poltavskaya Stanitsa Kabayev

Similar orders were hung up in the Bagayevskaya, Medvedovskaya, Umanskaya and Urupskaya Stanitsa's.... There are data which show that 45,639 people were deported from three villages alone. An eye-witness, a railway worker who in the early 30's saw convoys of deportees from the Kuban, testifies: "...Many times they

threw us bundles from passing trains. We knew what was in them. They contained children's bodies. We unwrapped them and retrieved the notes, which were very similar in content: 'For the sake of God, convey to the earth this servant of God...' And a name. And alongside the railway we buried these same 'kulaks,' these 'servants of God,' the Misha's, the Dasha's, the Ivans, infants in arms and toddlers, the brown-haired and the black-haired ones... And in their homeland and on their blood arose the kolkhozes. And the new masters entered the homes of the dispossessed kulaks..." (See SEVERNAYA PRAVDA No 10-12, 1989.)

As a result of the famine, or more accurately, the consciously organized genocide, up to 10 million people died, according to some estimates. Historians, demographers, and economists have yet to evaluate the consequences of the 1932-1933 famine for the fate of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples. But one point is undisputed: it is essential to have complete openness concerning all the repressions and crimes, beginning in the epoch of the "red terror," including openness about the crimes of the "victims of Stalinism" of the type of Zinovyev, Yakir, Gamarnik and K. As for Kaganovich, who is receiving a privileged pension, it is our firm conviction that he, this arch-executioner, should be subject to a public trial. The victims of his evil deeds who look out from the old photographs appeal to us to do this!

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Belorussian Writer On Chernobyl, Law On Languages

90UN1251A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 17 Feb 90 p 2

[Interview with Boris Sachenko, Belorussian writer, Belorussian SSR people's deputy candidate, by Z. Prigodich: "To Protect Man"; date and place not specified; first three paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA introduction]

[Text] The well-known Belorussian writer Boris Sachenko was born on 15 May 1936 in the village of Velikiy Bor of Khoynikskiy Rayon of Gomel Oblast in a working-class family. After graduation from the Belorussian University, he worked on the editorial boards of the journals VOZHYK and POLMYA, and as the secretary of the board of directors of the Belorussian Union of Writers. He is now in charge of the editing of foreign literature in translation of the "Mastatskaya litartura" Publishing House. The author of novels and the stories "Chuzhoe nebo", "Velikiy les", "Posledniye i pervyye", "Oksana", "Otchiy dom", as well as collections of stories.

He also speaks out as a journalist—writes about the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station, about the events of the 1930's in Belorussia, does research on the Belorussian emigration, prepares the publication of forgotten works of Belorussian and Russian literature—of Ya. Kolas, Ya. Kupala, F. Sologub, M. Bulgakov, V. Nabokov, and B. Pilnyak. The works of B. Sachenko have been published in many union republics and abroad.

Laureate of the State Prize of Belorussia. Took part in the work of the 35th session of the UN General Assembly.

We call your attention to the interview with the writer.

[Prigodich] Boris Ivanovich, since you are a candidate for people's deputy of Belorussia and have now begun an active election campaign, I would like to begin our discussion with problems which are surely touched on in your meetings with voters. I have in mind the problems of restructuring, democratization and glasnost. What is your assessment of the present situation in the country, in the republic?

[Sachenko] For the time being it is no cause of joy. In 4 years, the Soviet people defeated Hitlerite Germany, liberated Europe from fascism, but here in the same 4 years we have reached the point where there is no...soap. Crime and inflation have grown as never before. National sentiments are going too far across our region, they are turning into unsolvable conflicts. And this there where so much attention has been given to international education! And strikes? ... In our country there is a shortage of many of the most essential necessities of life, and the same goods are sold for a song abroad...

How could all this happen? Why? One of the reasons is that restructuring lacks a profoundly scientific theory, a carefully thought-out strategy. Not even the incentives have been found that would inspire and encourage a man to work more and, the main thing, better. The dismantling of the old system of management, too, is obviously lagging behind the tempo of life. In order to lead the country out of the impasse, to direct the energy of the masses into the creation of a really new democratic society, we need non-standard approaches to the problems, bold ideas and solutions. And, of course, people who would move restructuring forward. However, the old bureaucratic apparatus is putting up resistance, is not letting new people into management—the promotion of cadres is proceeding in accordance with the previous, long-obsolete, unproductive scheme. People have gotten tired of discussions and promises, no one believes anyone anymore.

Yes, our party has begun restructuring. But in the course of it, it has, unfortunately, begun to lose its vanguard role. The gap between its rank and file members and the apparat has not been eliminated, it seems it has even increased still further. Thought, awakened and liberated by glasnost and democratization, is searching for a way out of the impasse, out of the protracted crisis. And to hold it back is inadmissible, especially in the conditions of the Chernobyl tragedy...

[Prigodich] In your "Zapiski o radiatsii", you dwelt on some aspects of this Chernobyl misfortune. You yourself are by birth from the Khoynikskiy Rayon; this is where, I know, your mother and brothers live. I would like to know what you take away from your trips to your homeland, what ideas overwhelm you there, at home, in your village?

[Sachenko] Most of the time I want to cry. Because of my inability to help people in any way at all. When for the first time after the accident I went to Khoynikskiy Rayon—this was in August 1986—I was perturbed by the carefree attitude of those on whom a great deal depended in those days. The people who lived on the lands that were covered with radionuclides made hay, cut rye, ate everything that grew in the vegetable gardens, and drank the milk from their cows. Many of them were not even warned about the calamity, as they were supposed to. The medical survey was conducted carelessly and superficially, and not for the purpose of determining the level of irradiation, and in order to calm people, they said that nothing terrible happened.

Here, for example, is what the chief of the Main Medical-Epidemiological Administration of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Health, V. Buryak, wrote in one of the republic papers of 25 May 1986: "...There has been an appreciable increase in the radiation background of Braginskiy, Khoynikskiy, and Narovlyanskiy rayons. But today we no reasons to believe that it represents a danger for the health of the population. At the present time, all work operations are performed there, including agricultural ones. If there existed even the smallest danger, they

would be substantially curtailed... And those hospitalizations to which we resort are in no way connected with the fact that someone received or could receive radiation sickness... If we proceed from the fact that the accident took place comparatively long ago, I suggest that in 2-3 weeks it will be possible to use the vegetables. This pertains to all rayons of Gomel, the southeast rayons of Minsk, and the southern rayons of Mogilev oblasts... With respect to the future harvest of agricultural crops, I can say that it will be completely without danger... The open water reservoirs on the republic's territory are pure. As far as the mushrooms that grow later, and especially in the fall, are concerned, I am firmly convinced that they will not present any danger... In some cases we recommend a complex of vitamins. This is quite sufficient. We are not observing a threat to the health of the population... The radiation situation is improving with every passing day, and in a short time the problems which worry the population will be removed from the agenda..."

How to assess such declarations today? And, indeed, they were heard not only from the lips of the chief of the Main Medical-Epidemiological Administration. And people believed them! But what I saw in the "zone" with my own eyes robbed me of sleep and rest. I wrote about this honestly and openly. But print? ... Even if I talked about what I had seen and heard, I was accused of spreading panic. For almost 3 years, they were silent about the Mogilev land that was covered with radionuclides...

Now, of course, a great deal you cannot bring back, time has been lost. But much can still be corrected, if we want to take on, as they say, "the whole world." Unfortunately, even the well-elaborated program for the elimination of the consequences of the calamity, which was adopted by the republic Supreme Soviet is not being fully carried out because there are no funds. If it were up to me, I would compel the Ministry of Nuclear Power to carry out this program. It created the calamity—it is up to it to eliminate the results of its "work." For the time being, this ministry is operating with impunity, it even dipped its hand into the fund for assistance to the victims of the calamity, for which everyone of us made financial sacrifices—it took more than 65 million rubles, allegedly for the compensation of the losses incurred at the fourth (exploded) power unit. Is such a thing justifiable?

There is still another aspect of the Chernobyl tragedy—this is the production of food products on the polluted territories, which has not been stopped until now. These products, no matter how much anyone would try to persuade us, are not pure and are not at all harmless to health. Meanwhile, they are being consumed not only by those who live there, but by all of us. If we add to this that people are being poisoned through the air (the ejections of harmful elements for the last year alone increased by 3 percent in Belorussia!), through water (in the majority of cases it is unfit for use), and through food (it is frequently polluted above the admissible norms

with nitrates, pesticides, and other harmful substances), the legitimate question arises: Is the republic's state agroindustrial committee really not interested in the health of people? ...

[Prigodich] What, in your view, is the main reason for such serious ecological problems?

[Sachenko] In my view, the chief reason lies in the low culture of some of our leaders. Those on whom a great deal depends think, above all, about themselves, about their well-being, and are afraid to lose their post. The chinovnik is a terrible force, he is not elected and does not answer to anyone for his actions. As a result, the cause, all of us, and the people suffer. Democratization and humanization, about which there is talk in the press, up to now have not yet broken through. Funds for culture, education, and enlightenment are not being increased. But this is precisely the gold-mine, where, if you invest a ruble, you will get a profit of a hundred or even a thousand rubles. Our chinovnik is separated from the culture of his people, from his native roots, he does not even read what they write about him, because since he long ago repudiated his native language, he does not use it in life...

[Prigodich] A law "On Languages in the Belorussian SSR." You took part in the development of the draft of this law. Unfortunately, many do not understand why elevate the Belorussian language to the rank of state language...

[Sachenko] But why, does our language perhaps not deserve to be the state language? Incidentally, it was the state language about 400 years ago—in the Great Lithuanian Principality, in the 1920's—in Soviet Belorussia. What is more, in the law it is stated that "the status of the Belorussian language as the state language does not affect the constitutional rights of the citizens of other nationalities to use Russian or other languages." It has not always been the fate of the Belorussian language to be without rights, practically on the level of a dialect... Without a doubt, it would be better for people themselves to make the choice, what to study, to know, etc. But if we create a rule-of-law state, it is necessary to regulate the relations of people in the language sphere as well. Because, having announced bilingualism, we have actually replaced it with one language—the Russian language. Language is the element and a fundamental principle of culture. And if we are to raise the culture of the people, we need to begin with the fundamental element and the fundamental principle of culture—language. The more languages a person knows, the greater the possibility he has of getting access to culture.

The Law "On Languages in the Belorussian SSR" is necessary today also because of the fact that such laws have been adopted by all the union republics, and since Belorussia is making the transition to the new methods of management and relations with all the republics, the

economy occupies a considerable place here—we ourselves must worry about personnel for industry, agriculture, science...

[Prigodich] Boris Ivanovich, lately many writers are appearing in genres seemingly uncharacteristic for them, most often in journalism. Here you are... What is the cause behind this?

[Sachenko] Life, the desire to help people. Previously I had no desire to appear in these genres because it was impossible to speak the truth. Today it is possible to say, if not everything, at any rate a great deal, to compare one's views with the views of other people, to remind a little, to suggest or to warn... No, journalism is a very effective and necessary genre...

[Prigodich] It does not interfere with artistic creativity?

[Sachenko] Once, at the beginning of my creative path, I said: "In our time a good writer must not be, does not have the right to be, a bad citizen." For a writer, as J.P. Sartre said figuratively, "is planted in his epoch: Every word of his gives rise to an echo. Every silence—the same." Without a doubt, in literature, besides "the temporary interests of society", there are also, speaking in the words of L. Tolstoi, "eternal, all-human interests: The most precious, intimate confessions of the people." We, the writers, try to recall this, not to forget. But it happens that it is simply impossible not to comment on this or that event or fact. "I cannot be silent!" L. Tolstoi himself exclaimed another time. Today is precisely such a time...

[Prigodich] You have been nominated as candidate for people's deputy of the Belorussian SSR for the Zakharovskiy election okrug No 23 of the city of Minsk by collectives of teachers of secondary schools and the city institute for the advanced training of teachers...

[Sachenko] The fact that it was the teachers who named me as their candidate for people's deputy made me very glad. All my life I have been connected with school. My wife and brother taught. My youngest daughter is a teacher by profession. What is more, I myself, as much as I can, help the schools of the republic. Previously I restored in the Union of Writers relations with the schools, for the fourth year I am heading a commission for the teaching of literature and language.

As far as my work as deputy is concerned... Three times I was elected as deputy of the Minsk City Soviet of People's Deputies, and I am used to helping people. This is not easy work! Some chinovniks are surrounded by various instructions and orders like armor, and to prove anything to them... is oh, how difficult! Not all candidates for people's deputies, it has appeared to me, understand this. To be a deputy is not only a great honor, but a big responsibility. And work. A deputy must have character, be independent, crystal-pure, courageous, and sacrifice much for the sake of the people. What is more, be prepared for such work. Meanwhile, among the candidates for people's deputy there are not quite enough specialists—economists, lawyers, members of the creative intelligentsia... But without

such people you will not be able to undo the vital problems in the Supreme Soviet of the republic...

[Prigodich] What is your program as candidate for people's deputy?

[Sachenko] The same as it has always been—to protect man, to be concerned for his interests, to offer support in a difficult moment, to help. Today I would advance into first place the questions connected with the most rapid and most radical solution of the Chernobyl tragedy, as well as the improvement of the ecological situation in the city of Minsk and in the republic, and with the introduction of the strictest control over all food products. When purchasing products, a man is obliged to know what he will consume.

Into second place, I would put economic questions, questions of social justice, the increase in the standard of living, funds for the construction of apartments, public education, the upbringing of children, assistance to cripples, labor and war invalids, and single mothers. All of this is impossible without searches for new stimuli of the interest of people in the results of their labor, without glasnost, the further democratization of society, the transfer of the fullness of power to the Soviets, without the economic and political independence of Belorussia, the increase of its role in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the growth of its prestige in the international arena.

Well, of course, culture, too, occupies an appropriate place in my program. Without it society will perish. Many misfortunes in our country arise precisely from the fact that the culture of people is low, that for years no funds were allotted for its development. Without culture, as it seemed to some, one can live. But what sort of life? Not just anything, but precisely culture brings people, peoples, and countries together, brings light, good, respect, and love of man for man, without which the world cannot exist.

Round-Table Discussion on Chernobyl Held in Kiev

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[Round-table discussion reported by Viktor Hrabovskyy: "Right to Life"]

[Text] A round-table discussion devoted to the topic "Should the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant Be Modernized or Shut Down Permanently?" was held in Kiev, at the initiative of the Ukrainian Peace Defense Committee, the "Green World" Ukrainian Ecological Association ["Greens"], the Ukrainian Board of the Scientific and Technical Society of Power Engineers, and the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences.

On the eve of this notable event, the constituent conference of the Vryatuvannya All-Ukrainian Society took place in Narodichi. The conference resolution was forwarded to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet by the

society's cochairman, Candidate of Physical and Mathematical Sciences Ye. V. Korbetskiy, a senior scientist at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Nuclear Research. Aboard a "Ruslan" [Antonov An-124] aircraft, loaded to the gills with medicines, radiological protection gear, disposable syringes, and children's wearing apparel for the victims of the Chernobyl disaster, winging his way across the broad Atlantic and bringing us hope for fruitful cooperation on the part of the Ukrainian Diaspora, was Professor Taras Hryhorovych Hunchak, chairman of the Chernobyl Foundation, accompanied by a select group of specialists. The people of Kiev, many thousands of whom attended a mass meeting which filled Revolution Square, once again attested that only consolidation of all progressive forces in the Ukraine is capable of assuring prosperity, genuine rule by the people, and sovereignty. Thus the proposals summed up in the round-table discussion in the conference hall at the Ukrainian Peace Defense Committee, dealing with the future of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, were of threefold significance. The 12th Session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, was to make a final determination of the status of the Chernobyl disaster victims and those who took part in disaster recovery efforts, as well as the fate of the nuclear power station itself and the status of the entire Chernobyl zone and adjacent areas, for the persons residing in these areas, who have no possibility—by virtue of our social traditions—of changing anything in their lives, continue to bear the searing brand of the government agencies with a stake in perpetuating this life.

Radiophobia

One year ago the "Yevrochernobyl" [Euro-Chernobyl] International Meeting held in Kiev under the auspices of the World Peace Council persuasively demonstrated that the Chernobyl tragedy has long since been perceived by the peoples of the entire world as a global catastrophe. Forty USSR people's deputies demanded that the government establish a permanent national Chernobyl disaster recovery program, funded by adequate resources, and that a complete and comprehensive investigation be conducted of the events preceding the disaster, as well as the actions of officials who concealed the truth about the magnitude of the disaster. "But the elements opposing this are not about to repent to a grieving nation," stated USSR People's Deputy Oles Honchar, prominent writer, academician, and chairman of the Ukrainian Republic Peace Defense Committee, leading off the discussion, in which top scientists from the republic and the USSR, nuclear power plant managers, people from the ministry of health and the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Environmental Protection, etc. were taking part. "And yet tension not only has not lessened since 1986 but is increasing, becoming an alarm—ever watchful and constant. I do not wish to knock science, but nevertheless I cannot get rid of the impression that science was not at all prepared for such a calamity. Man has awakened such colossal forces that he is unable to hold them in submission. But even the fact that the very solar plexus of the Ukraine was selected

for the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant cannot help but attest to the unusually cavalier attitude on the part of the ministerial scientific establishment, for it was this scientific establishment—obedient, bureaucratized and working in concert with the bureaucratic administrative edifice—which authorized construction of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, as it did for the Crimean, Chigirin, Rovno, and Southern Ukrainian power stations.... The worst has come to pass: we have met face to face with the evil of ignorance. Ignorance, terrible and pitiless, spilled out over our entire people in the form of an incredible campaign of deliberate misinformation.

"But do the people want or need such a scientific establishment?"

"Another evil," continued Oles Terentiyovych, "is ministerial secrecy. All those 'specialized prohibitory regulations', which relegate man to the role of 'cog in a gear' ['hvyntyk']—contrary to the Constitution—concealing the truth, doom the people to grave physical and moral ailments. Having survived a terrible war with fascism, we became the victims of government agencies; it is they who have assaulted us, seeking to make the people hostage to their own shortsighted well-being. What is the result of this antihuman ministerial formula: scornful accusations of radiophobia leveled against us? Or the blasphemous statement that 'science requires sacrifices'?"

"As a result of all this, today the entire people is against nuclear power stations, with petitions and mass demonstrations. Therefore the position of every official present should be made known to the people, for that is the way the people want it. They want to know what is going to happen to the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, its Number 4 reactor, and the zone's radioactive waste burial sites. How long are we going to keep our future—our children—in a radionuclide reservation? What fate awaits the Rovno and Southern Ukrainian nuclear power stations, since those sites present extremely adverse geologic conditions, as well as having inadequate water availability. Thus there can be no talk of building new nuclear power stations. We should be talking only about how to lessen the adverse consequences, how to prevent suffering by the people, and how to improve life for the people and improve the environment.

"The Ukraine does not want to be a nuclear testing ground, and it will not be one. Whether this happens as a consequence of the forthcoming convocation of the Supreme Soviet or at a later date, it will nevertheless come to pass. This will be the beginning of sovereignty of the Ukraine, when the people themselves will make the decisions."

How Are We to Live in the Future?

The close attention with which people listened to O. S. Honchar gave reason to make certain predictions, for it is not mere happenstance that literally a few hours after this the chairman of the "Green World" Association ["Greens"], well-known writer People's Deputy Yuriy Shcherbak, chairman of the environmental subcommittee of the USSR Supreme Soviet, appeared live on

TV, answering questions asked by his constituents, and confidently informed them about the exchange of views which had taken place in the conference room at the Ukrainian Peace Defense Committee. It was quite a surprise!

The fact is that several years ago a nuclear zone was created in the very economic center of Europe as a consequence of a terrible cataclysm, which one would think could be caused only by war, a zone which will demand a great many years, and perhaps centuries, of attention and enormous capital spending. Obviously it will be too difficult without effective assistance by the world scientific community. For unfortunately we are not the only ones with such a problem....

Semipalatinsk looms as a post-Japanese specter of nuclear suffering.

Just three years after the Chernobyl disaster we learned that this was far from being the Soviet nuclear power industry's first tragedy, that in addition to a great many minor recorded and unrecorded mishaps, several decades back there had occurred a terrible explosion of radioactive waste in Chelyabinsk Oblast, where there even exists a town of power industry personnel which does not even appear on the map—Chelyabinsk-40. Waste material from its reactors, as a consequence of "successful" commercial plutonium production, resulted in contamination of Lake Karachay with radio-nuclides—incidentally, this was going on right up to 1987—and today this "unique reservoir," according to the claims of competent authorities, is equivalent to the magnitude of two Chernobyl disasters! (It is true that none of these competent authorities is willing to state the exact magnitude of the Chernobyl disaster, for even a child can see the difference between 50 million curies and more than a billion curies of radioactivity. But the first figure is from the official report for the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] and has never been made public in this country, while the second figure appeared in the no less official newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI). The fact is that the "official" tens of millions of curies of radioactivity in the Chernobyl waste burial sites is no less frightful than the radioactivity level in the reactor. Do unpleasant surprises not lie in wait from these burial sites as well as from the entombed reactor? Does it make us feel any better even if these surprises will not happen to us personally but at some later date?

We Have No Figures

We have no figures characterizing the level of radioactive contamination in the rayons of Bryansk Oblast or, stated more precisely, we are not utilizing such figures. Although we know that the level of contamination is equal to that of the Polesye in the Kiev region. Therefore we know that things are not good there.

The Belorussians have reacted much faster than us in insisting on a government program to neutralize the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster—thanks to their own activeness.

We have temporized even in this matter....

At the same time, within two years after the disaster pediatricians and teachers in Zhitomir Oblast were reporting a significant worsening in the subjective physical well-being of the majority of children: symptoms included poor sleep, anemia, high blood pressure, rapid tiring, and heightened nervousness. In Narodichskiy Rayon, for example, the number of persons with high blood pressure has risen fourfold in three years, while the number of persons with ischemia cordis has increased by a factor of seven....

The situation is no better in Rovno Oblast.... In addition, mortality among Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant personnel is rising rather appreciably....

As for M. P. Umanets, general manager at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, although 87 percent of personnel have been replaced, he is convinced that if the facility had not been operated so irresponsibly, with the focus on performance figures, people would not be saying what they are today about the nuclear power industry. The general manager assured his audience that personnel at the plant are reliable, are working with caution and prudence, and that if any irregularity arises, they shut down the reactor unit in question. Nor should the people at the Chernobyl plant be thought of as enemies of the people....

One had the impression that M. P. Umanets truly believes in the reliability of the RBMK reactor and would be happy to continue running things here even after reaching retirement age..., working to surmount the temporary difficulties pertaining to living conditions and services. A real fighter!

But why is it then that 15 years ago Academician P. L. Kapitsa stressed in a lecture presented in Stockholm that assured nuclear power plant safety is possible only if such facilities are sited on uninhabited islands or deep underground (an idea proposed by A. D. Sakharov!)? Why is it that Academician M. A. Dollezhal, chief designer of the RBMK reactor, suggested that these reactors be operated in uninhabited areas, far from densely-populated localities? Were these eminent scientists simply becoming senile in their old age and no longer knew what they were saying? When are we finally going to begin taking these lessons to heart?

But the point lies not even in the reliability of the reactors proper (a nuclear power plant is too complex a system to rely on flawless and failure-free operation by each and every component element. Incidentally, nobody gives a 100 percent guarantee, not even in Japan. There simply exists the term "degree of risk"—a realistic warranty which the manufacturer provides on the

assumption of proper, intelligent operation and maintenance of the reactors, which, incidentally, are much more reliable than ours). Thus the problem lies in the system, for when top industry officials openly and shamelessly, before millions of TV viewers, ask the head of government to put an end to the "unbridled" criticism of the ministry by the mass media, as happened last spring at Chernobyl, and when the ministry continues building nuclear power plants based on obsolete, poor-quality designs and plans, holding itself aloof from the public by means of barriers of arrogant unapproachability, it will have neither public faith nor trust. And no matter how much the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant general manager boasts about being visited every other day by foreign delegations who are very pleased with everything they have seen, he never had and does not now have any procedural documentation on retiring reactor units from service. Even if not a single mishap has occurred, what do you do with a plant which is reaching the end of its useful life? From whom do the Institute imeni I. Kurchatov and Academician Velikhov expect to receive instructions? Nobody knows. And nobody ever tries to find out! And yet the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant has been operating in temporary emergency mode for almost four years now, not to mention the terrible psychological shock which people experienced....

But who is giving any thought to them?

O. L. Lapshin, deputy minister of that infernal ministry, had no problem with coming up with a figure in response to your question that several hundred—approximately!—thousand persons went through the Chernobyl "meat grinder," losing forever all dreams of a full and rewarding future life, but he was unable to say what has happened to those hundreds of millions of workers' rubles which people had sent in from throughout the country to aid the Chernobyl victims. Nobody will say where this money has gone. Just as nobody will say why the fundamental problem of design flaws in PGV-1000 steam generators is not being resolved for nuclear power plants with type VVER-1000 reactors. After all, reactor shutdowns due to operating problems at the Southern Ukrainian Nuclear Power Plant, for example, are due precisely to the steam generator. It is but a short distance from here to disaster. But plant personnel get a curt reply: "It is none of your business."

It is precisely in this manner that ministerial callousness, to which decency of communication is just as foreign as production sophistication and knowledgeability, engenders alienation and hopelessness.

Someday legends will be told about the fifth shift at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, which took the first blow of the disaster, but today these people, devastated by hopelessness and tormented by physical ailments, are unable to gain elementary acknowledgment, due to the heavy hand of Academician Ilin, of the linkage between the disaster and their work disability. And then there are, for example, the townspeople of Pripyat who resided on

Prospekt Druzhby Narodov. It is 1,500 meters as the crow flies to Reactor Number 4 from their open apartment windows! And a variegated bouquet of all kinds of physical ailments. As a consequence of... a transition period!

Yu. P. Spizhenko, a young and vigorous leader at the Ministry of Health, speaks out boldly—for the first time officially!—about the hushed-up accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant back in 1982, about damage to the immune and endocrine systems, and... about the fact that doctors are presently unable to establish a linkage between these medical problems and radiation. Why not get into contact with those countries where they are able to do this? And they would do it for nothing!

Who Is Impeding Things?

Well, since they have officially stated an acceptable figure of 35 rem over a period of 70 years—incidentally, this is contrary not only to international standards but also to the radiation safety standards adopted in the USSR which existed up to 1987—then who is going to help you, an insignificant individual? The fact is that, in order in some manner to justify the new standards at least "to outsiders," immediately after the Chernobyl disaster they should have permanently evacuated people not only out of the continuous monitoring zone but out of the periodic monitoring zone as well (wherever the level of radioactivity exceeds 5 curies per square kilometer). Do they not understand that even a slight weakening of the immune system can have a serious effect on one's state of health? In addition, the theoretical "standard" fails entirely to consider the fact that a person must stay out of the forest, away from the river, and out of the fields, and this is in fact the situation in many rayons in Zhitomir, Kiev, and Rovno oblasts....

And what about children?!

In order to ensure the bare minimum of conditions in the recommended permanent-evacuation zones, requirements included providing the people with contamination-free foodstuffs, including grapes and apples, transported in from elsewhere.

But the system has totally discredited itself. And precisely for this reason we cannot today accept the power industry development program proposed by the system as an adequate program, as one which is in conformity with the needs of the people.

"Yes, I am willing to give up my television set if necessity requires. I shall read a book instead. I shall reread Oles Terentiyovych's "Sobor" for the 10th time, but I shall enjoy it, and, finally, I shall know where I am headed," stated N. Yu. Preobrazhenska, chairman of the Ecology and Morality Association.

It is true that prior to this statement V. F. Sklyarov, Ukrainian SSR Minister of Power and Electrification, had made the statement that "overproduction of electric power in the Ukraine will not give anyone the pleasure of curling up with a book, except perhaps the most ardent

readers. But our cheap electric rates are not a good thing at all. And this cannot continue, although of course public opinion must be prepared in advance for rate changes. And in order to get along without nuclear power plants we shall have to burn an additional 10 millions tons of coal. In principle I can understand as an engineer that the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant must operate, but as a human being this seems immoral to me!"

Giving support to the minister's statement, Academician V. P. Trefilov, a people's deputy and vice president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, commented that it would be better to burn 23-25 million tons of gas in generators in order to bolster an alternative branch of the power industry. The most science-intensive types of power generation should be used to resolve the problem, for nuclear power plants are distrusted.

Ukrainian SSR Academy of Science Vice President V. I. Skok was even more radical: "I consider immoral even debate on the question of whether or not the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant should continue to operate or not. I am for immediate shutdown of this plant."

"It is probably necessary to shut it down," agreed Yu. M. Samoylenko, general manager of the Spetsatom Association. "But that is a very costly undertaking...."

That is precisely the point! And what if the Ukraine decided to sue for damages? The fact is that Chernobyl power was going to the West, but the republic was receiving no profit from the deal.... No, nuclear power is just too costly. Born as a bastard child of the fierce arms race, it has ended up as a dissolute daughter of the system—wasteful, arrogant, and pitiless. There is real significance to N. S. Khrushchev's reminiscence to the effect that the architect who had designed country homes for Beriya ended up building... nuclear power plants. That is the way it went.... And could one expect anything different? In addition, the myth of "peaceful nuclear prosperity" was maintained on the heroic labors of the working man and ministerial secrets. "It is high time to realize this fact, for the level of safety of our reactors fails to meet international standards," stated V. I. Merkulov, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission.

"The All-Union Congress of Radiologists strongly objected to that ill-fated standard of 35 rem," stated I. H. Usachenko, chairman of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian SSR Red Cross Society. "It still is necessary to determine what purpose is being pursued by Ilin and Chazov, in entering into a patently adulterous relationship with the Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry? Should we not draw strong attention to this?"

One can now state that the scientific concept of conduct of activities in the continuous monitoring zone, which was applied for a period of three years, has failed to produce the anticipated effect. Efforts have also failed fully to neutralize the effect of adverse factors on humans, in spite of considerable radioactive decontamination, employment of measures of a medical and social nature, and in spite of

hauling in contamination-free foodstuffs. For this reason a decision was also made to undertake additional permanent evacuation of population from certain rayons in Zhitomir and Kiev oblasts. Initially 14 such localities were listed, but at the last minute the government considered it necessary to add to the list the residents of Narodichi and Poleskoye. "Those receiving excessive radiation exposure (more than 1 million) include 250,000 children, who require serious medical treatment," continued K. I. Masin, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. "Before the end of the year we must permanently evacuate at least somewhere between 10 and 20 thousand radiation victims to a new location."

But how slowly we are resolving the most essential problem! On the one hand we are continuing surreptitious decontamination of Slavutich, while on the other hand we are hauling equipment to Slavutich from Pripyat: right now, for example, cargo hoists are being installed. Some are once again doing everything to meet plan targets, while others are receiving "coffin" assignments so that the Chernobyl plant can produce electricity. N. A. Abe-lyan, assistant to Academician Ilin, Doctor of Technical Sciences Ye. O. Adamov, chief designer at the All-Union Power Technologies Scientific Research and Design Institute, who, incidentally, also has confirmed that we are producing a surplus of electric power but that production is set up in such a manner that we end up with a shortage, as well as M. V. Karlan and Yu. L. Tsoolin, who are responsible for reactor safety—from Gosatomnadzor and the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Nuclear Research—have stated that power output at the Chernobyl plant should be reduced not by 10 but by 50 percent, that opinions about the RBMK reactor are highly negative, and that the state is not spending enough money on reactor safety.

In my opinion Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences V. V. Tokarevskyy, head of the Department of Nuclear Power Engineering at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Nuclear Research, was absolutely right when he noted that statistical figures exist and that fairly obvious lying is going on. Figures have a hypnotic effect, but they should not be trusted. This statement applies both to members of the press and the other media—the public should know that many possible emergency situations pertaining to the RBMK reactor have not been adequately analyzed by scientists, and the fact is that we are still doing a great deal in the nuclear power industry in a groping manner, although we must be sure that disaster will not occur. Thus each of us, in our own job, must conscientiously carry out our duty.

Carrying Out Our Duty

If only like hundreds of "Greens" performed their duty last Friday, in a democratic manner, speaking out for the future, using solely the voice of banners, in front of the Supreme Soviet, where the deputies were in session....

The collective dose of responsibility is growing—new environmental thinking should become not only prestigious but also economically advantageous. When will our economy cease operating contrary to the right of the people to life? It is necessary finally to grasp the fact that not only natural resources are finite and can be exhausted, but that nature itself can also be exhausted. And although there is enough oil to last several decades and enough coal for several centuries, this by no means signifies that we shall be able to extract and consume these resources to the last drop, for every year approximately 18 million tons of industrial pollutants are injected into the skies over the Ukraine, while soil pollution and contamination in the Ukraine is seven times the average figure for the USSR as a whole. Nuclear power plants are continuing to make even worse the incredible deterioration of our rivers. And although world experience has long since demonstrated that solution to problems of power and energy lies not in building up nuclear generating capacity but in the elementary act of economizing in electric power consumption, the stereotypical thinking of the period of stagnation is in particular evidence at the level of those ministries which in the past have been able to do as they pleased. Infected by the virus of gigantomania, it seemed simpler for the state to bury billions, spending them on cumbersome, obsolete nuclear power plants, than to concern itself with reliable automatic devices which would monitor and regulate the consumption of electricity or with improving the "Lenin's light bulbs" which this country uses, which consume 30 percent more electricity than those which have been in use abroad for almost a quarter of a century now. That which was called upon to work "on behalf of man" turned against man and against everything which helps man remain a human being.

Even the people in the power industry have no doubts about the antihumanistic nature of current energy programs.... Grasping this fact, O. L. Lapshin expressed his thanks for the atmosphere of pluralism which prevailed during the discussion and promised that an independent IAEA commission will soon be arriving, which will determine what we should do with the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant in the future....

Is that not the same one that was functioning in the Crimea?!

Nor do we believe that the IAEA, which is financed by our monetary contributions, is independent. But then two years ago Aleksandr Leonidovich was refusing even to understand the fact that there is such a thing as a "country's ecological capacity." This is obviously a step forward! Will we really be able to accomplish something?!

V. I. Budko, first secretary of the Narodichskiy Rayon Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, shook his head doubtfully: in spite of the fact that there is sufficient vacant housing in the Ukraine, particularly in the villages, the workers in a number of villages in his rayon still do not know where they can be resettled.

People are also leaving the hastily-built settlements: even here the farmers end up breathing "hot particles"—the insidious dust of the Chernobyl desert!

USSR People's Deputy Volodymyr Yavorivskyy, unable to restrain himself, poured out his indignation: "I, naive that I am, thought that perhaps now some nuclear industry high official would finally see the picture here, in Holy Kiev, and sincerely repent.... For if they went and visited Comrade Budko in Narodichi, they would see that no words of repentance would help. There are innocent children there.... What kind of feelings can you have when you see children with tears in their eyes? After all this, what good is our nuclear power industry?!"

In point of fact the irresponsible cynicism on the part of certain ministries knows no bounds. The Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant has been operating for almost four years now since the disaster, and during this entire time we have been experiencing rigidly-enforced silence. The involved ministries are being too slow and reluctant about giving up their barbaric privileges of final arbiter of the truth. For this reason, insisting on the right to life, the people are demanding elimination of the source of the Chernobyl disaster. The Ukrainian Peace Defense Committee, the "Green World" Association, as well as the republic's other public organizations, supporting this noble aspiration, are in favor of the radiation-contaminated zone being handed over to the scientific institutes of the entire planet. As a result of the discussion of the fate of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, a proposal has been forwarded to the Supreme Soviet. We must ensure that the Chernobyl tragedy is never again repeated.

Masol Evaluates Ukrainian Environmental Priorities

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[Speech by UkSSR Council of Ministers Chairman Deputy V.A. Masol: "On the Ecological Situation in the Republic and Measures for its Radical Improvement"; 16 February 1990, UkSSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text]

I.

Esteemed chairman, esteemed comrade deputies!

Today, the session of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet is considering a very important and complex issue. The current ecological situation in the republic is tense, and

in individual regions, it is nearly critical. This demands joint decisive actions in the name of people's health, in the name of our future.

The very fact that this issue is being discussed in the highest legislative organ of the UkSSR government is taken as a sign of the great perturbation and concern of the deputies and the public at large over the state of the environment.

Permit me first of all to pause upon the fundamental causes of the exacerbation of ecological problems.

It should be noted that the status of the environmental situation today is closely linked to the entire historical course of the development of the republic and its production forces.

The presence in the Ukraine of significant fuel and raw mineral resources, qualified personnel, and territorial proximity to the country's industrial-consumer centers conditioned during the years of industrialization the swift development of the republic's heavy industry. As we all recall quite well, during the Great Patriotic War, in effect, everything created by our people's labor was utterly destroyed.

The years of the post-war restoration of the national economy were associated with the necessity of providing people and industry with everything needed—coal, electric power, metals, the production of other base branch production lines—in the minimum time periods. During this period, the issues of environmental protection were not raised as urgently as they are now; the circumstances themselves did not allow them to be shown the needed attention.

Of course, all of this does not justify our actions, yet it was precisely in such historical-economic conditions that the structure and scale of the economy of the Soviet Ukraine were formed. And now, occupying less than 3 percent of the territory of the USSR, the republic produces almost one-fifth of the country's public product. The proportion of the output of the means of production in our industry in recent years has exceeded 70 percent on a stable basis.

A critical analysis of the situation which we are now experiencing testifies to the fact that at the foundation of the exacerbation of the ecological situation lie such outmoded concepts as the limitlessness and inexhaustibility of natural resources, and the wasteful mechanism of utilization of nature exploited for decades.

To this should be added the shortcomings already admitted today in the development and placement of the republic's production forces and the low technological level of industrial production, where the needed attention was not directed to the development and inculcation of ecologically clean and non-waste producing technologies over the course of many years. This was often done under the guise of saving resources of which we never

had enough. As a result, ecological ignorance long flourished at various levels of management and administration, failing to permit the explanation that today's ecology is tomorrow's economy.

The increase of the republic's population by almost 17 million people over the years of Soviet power required an increase in the scale of agricultural production, and intensive utilization of land reserves. This led to the impoverishment of a substantial portion of our agricultural lands.

It must be said that the true state of the environment was groundlessly hushed up for a long time. Only now can we say out loud and openly that a consumeristic approach, essentially, the monopolism and dictatorship of the union ministries and departments reigned in the placement of new production within the territory of the republic. Not infrequently, the construction of enterprises was implemented by them without even the consent of the republic organs, without the proper inventory of local needs and ecological consequences.

Such, as they say, is the historical truth. It is this that testifies to the fact that the excessive burden on the natural environment continued in the Ukraine for decades; shortcomings were permitted in the organization of comprehensive utilization of natural resources. The accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station complicated the situation to the extreme and destroyed the ecological balance.

As has rightly been emphasized in many deputies' speeches at the last session of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, the time has come to principally evaluate the existing ecological situation in the republic. This will permit a correct definition of the direction of activity for its improvement.

At the same time, we feel that the new body of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet and UkSSR government must take such organizational measures and develop such legislative acts as would simply make it possible to be guided by such approaches in the resolution of vitally important environmental protection issues, since they concern every person in our republic.

II.

Comrade deputies! Before reporting to you in detail on the state of the ecological situation, I would like to note that stormy discussions on this issue, its pointed and heated discussion probably await us today. This is natural. However, in order that our sense of balance and objectivity not ultimately change, allow me to briefly remind you of certain measures which were taken by the government to improve the ecological situation, and of what has been done and what is being done in this direction.

It should be noted that recently, the republic Council of Ministers, the local soviet and economic organs have

begun to pay significantly more attention to the resolution of these complex problems. A number of important decrees aimed at improving the utilization of nature have been adopted

Our approach to the placement of ecologically harmful enterprises has been changed radically. The government has introduced a procedure according to which the development plans for all branches of the national economy, new construction projects, reconstruction of enterprises and individual facilities must now necessarily pass through ecological analysis.

Owing only to this, in recent years, one out of every three projects has been returned for further work; consent for the construction of many new industrial sites has not been given. In particular, these are such ecologically hazardous enterprises as a factory for producing chemical agents for the defense of vegetation in Ternopol Oblast, new capacity at the Kremenchug protein-vitamin concentrate plant, and a biochemical plant in Lvov Oblast, and others.

Taking into consideration the possible negative ecological effects, we adopted a resolution on the prohibition of the construction of the Dnepr-Bug water project hub. The designing of the Danube-Dnepr canal was halted in accordance with the UkSSR Council of Ministers. A decision on the limitation of nuclear power development in the republic, and the prohibition of industrial construction not connected with the social progress of a health resort in the Crimea was recently adopted.

The realization of many environmental protection measures, conducted at the initiative of the UkSSR government or controlled by it, has also been promoted by the active position taken by the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, its permanent commissions, deputies, scientists, and the population of our republic at large. The necessary material-technical and financial resources have been allocated for this.

Over 4 years, almost R8 billion in funds from all sources of financing were spent on implementing measures for environmental protection, with the sum of these resources growing from year to year. Thus, the volume of state capital investment specified for this goal in the current year is 1.4 times higher than it was at the beginning of the 5-year-plan.

This permitted the introduction into operation of facilities for treatment of waste water, systems of water supply recycling. Despite a significant growth in industrial production, fresh water consumption demand has decreased slightly. In industry now, over 150 enterprises, shops, and production lines work with non-discharging water supply systems. Among them are the 1 May production association "Khimprom," the Stakhonovskiy ferrous alloys plant, and the Upper Dnepr mining-metallurgical combine.

Since the beginning of the 5-year-plan, gas dust cleaning installations with a capacity of 18 million cubic meters

of natural gas per hour have been brought on line; they have reduced discharges of harmful substances into the atmospheric basin by almost 15 percent. The rate of recultivation of degraded land has increased; its volume has reached 26,000 hectares annually.

A correction has been made in recent years of the general development plans of the majority of cities and health resorts, and the rayon planning projects. Comprehensive territorial plans for environmental protection of such ecologically complex cities as Dneprodzerzhinsk, Krivoy Rog, and Dnepropetrovsk have been developed, as well as for Donetsk Oblast and a number of other resort areas of the Crimea.

Work has been conducted for increasing the republic's nature reserve fund, the area of which has grown by more than 120,000 hectares. The "Sinevir" national nature park has been created, 19 state special reserves, an arboretum [dendropark] in the city of Berezhno in the Rovno Oblast area, and the "Medobory" nature reserve in Ternopol Oblast. The situation has been improved significantly in the "Askaniya-Nova" biospheric reserve of international import. Several green zones in cities and industrial centers have been expanded.

Nonetheless, it should be frankly stated that obviously not enough has been done, as is evidenced by the state of the ecology in the republic today. The government feels that time is needed to correct the situation, no small amount of funds, and significant material-technical resources. And the main thing is that our action on all levels must be immediate and decisive.

The problem of preserving the atmosphere is extremely topical for the republic. Over 10 million metric tons of harmful substances are discharged into the atmosphere annually by industrial pollution sources. They mostly come from ferrous metallurgy, the chemical, petroleum processing, and coal industries, the power and construction materials industries. The air pollution level is very high in cities such as Mariupol, Zaporozhye, Donetsk, Dneprodzerzhinsk, Kommunar'sk, Krivoy Rog, and Makeyevka.

The primary reason for this is the imperfection of the technological processes, and the unsatisfactory outfitting of industrial enterprises with treatment equipment. Thus, in power engineering, the chemical and coal industries, only 30-40 percent of the pollution sources have treatment installations, and in petrochemicals, 20 percent. And no less damage is done by the low work efficiency of the treatment equipment. The UkSSR Goskompriroda [State Committee for Environmental Protection] organs checked the work status of the gas dust treatment assemblies at the Voroshilovgrad and Krivoy Rog GRESs. It turned out that practically all of them were in disrepair or worked with very low output.

Unfortunately, such examples are not isolated. They testify to the low level of production expertise and technological discipline. Of course, fines are being levied upon the individuals guilty of these gross violations. But

after all, in no way can they compensate for the damage done to the environment and people's health.

This is what I would like to say on that subject. Everyone understands that there are people at every treatment installation who service it and answer for disrepair. There are sanitary and epidemiological stations in the city or rayon, environmental protection workers, and finally, there is an enormous quantity of public organizations, various associations of the "Zeleniy Svit" type, all sorts of committees for nature conservancy. The question is then asked, why does such a numerous army of nature's guardians and defenders allow such outrages, and why does it not prevent them?

I want to summon everyone to joint work, so that order can be brought to every enterprise through common efforts and decisive actions.

The problem of pollution of the atmospheric basin by motor vehicle transportation is acquiring ever greater urgency. They are the source of more than one-third of the total volume of harmful discharges into the atmosphere, and in Kiev, Lvov, Poltava, and many resort cities, over 70 percent. In one out of every four motor vehicles checked, their toxicity exceeds the permissible norm.

What measures does the government envisage for improving the situation?

We consider the development and implementation of an ecologically based strategy for the further development of the republic's economy to be of the utmost importance; it must take into more complete account the status of its natural resource potential. Such an approach found its reflection in the draft Plan for the development and placement of production forces of the Ukrainian SSR for the period until 2005.

In particular, the plan provides for cardinal structural changes in the economy, its reorientation toward the priority development of processing, foodstuffs, and light industry, the expansion of consumer goods production. The resources and production potential will be directed first and foremost toward the production of science-intensive products, toward those spheres of activity which promote an improvement in human life, the satisfaction of needs.

Mining enterprises, resource- and water-intensive, energy-intensive, and other ecologically hazardous branches of the national economy will be developed in a more limited manner. Thus, the proportion of production of the fuel and metallurgical branches in the total volume of industrial output will be reduced 1.9-fold, and of the chemical industry, 1.5-fold.

Secondly, in the future, the development of the enterprises of heavy industry, especially with ecologically harmful production, will be realized only at the cost of their reconstruction and technological retooling, with the application of low-waste and waste-free technologies.

This strategic line is being realized by a reorientation of capital investments. Over 4 years, the volume of resources directed toward the reconstruction of operational production lines has grown 1.5-fold.

The issues of protecting the air at enterprises of the metallurgical and fuel-energy complex are still being resolved slowly, particularly in thermal power engineering, which is the source of almost one-third of all industrial discharge. Here, the problems of fuel quality, the development and introduction of modern gas purification technologies and equipment have become urgent.

Much talk is now going on over the chemical enterprises, especially those that use unimproved equipment and obsolete technologies. Here, the government also observes ecological priorities. In recent years alone, capacities at the chemical enterprises of Gorlovka, Konstantinovka, Sumy, Cherkassy, Rovno, Dneprodzerzhinsk, Severodonetsk, and other cities have been taken out of operation.

The reconstruction of the Kiev production association "Khimvolokno" has begun, as has a fundamental reprofiling of the Kiev chemical plant for the production of polyurethanes, at which the work of four ecologically hazardous production lines has been halted this year. We did not support the proposal of union organs for the construction of 15 new chemical facilities.

At the same time, we cannot agree with the fact that here and there in the provinces, the opinion is being formed without balanced economic and social calculations, rather on an emotional wave, on the substantial reduction of the production of certain types of chemical products, first and foremost, washing products, polymer materials, synthetic resins and fibers.

We must remember that without this important raw material, we cannot seriously talk about increasing production of modern consumer goods or furniture, or even about improving people's lives in general.

Recently, certain enterprises have ceased production of valuable products going into the production of medicine and medical preparations. We do not have enough of them as it is, and such poorly planned actions will lead only to an exacerbation of the situation and an even greater shortage.

Here is some confirmation of this for you. The Bakhchisaray construction industry combine refused to process manganese slurries, which, according to the USSR Ministry of Health, are completely non-toxic. Because of this, the country's only enterprise producing potassium manganate, located in Saki, may halt work. And this is called concern for the improvement of our people's health.

I recently visited the FRG, the territory of which is 2.5 times smaller than our republic. Yet there they produce 10 times as much synthetic resins and plastics, and 5 times as many chemical fibers as in the Ukraine. And the

issue of shutting down chemical enterprises does not arise there; after all, they are operating on modern technology, they have improved protective assemblies and equipment. The people working at them could not even think of allowing the possibility of neglecting the rules of operations.

We have to change people's psychology here, and our scientists must introduce more rapidly the most advanced technological processes at enterprises. Since, in the final analysis, environmental protection is our benefit.

The third direction is the erection of environmental protection, particularly water- and gas-treatment facilities. The volume of such construction is growing annually. Capital investment in the indicated goals over 4 years increased 1.5-fold compared to the last 5-year-plan. The main thing now is to fully utilize the resources allocated for this. Unfortunately, not everything is in order here. Over the years of the current 5-year-plan, R170 million of the R2 billion allocated remained unassimilated.

We can no longer reconcile ourselves to this. The republic Ministry of Construction, Montazhspeystroy, Ukrainian Agrostroy, and the oblispolkoms must consider the course of the execution of the tasks for environmental protection, and increase the responsibility of and demands upon those managers who are not providing the sector in their work jurisdiction.

Under modern conditions, great sociopolitical significance should be attached to the construction of environmental protection facilities and the strict observance of ecological requirements at every enterprise.

The fourth important trend concerned with treatment of the air is associated with the reduction of air pollution by automotive transportation. For this purpose, the government recently confirmed a special program for whose realization R170 million has been allocated. The problems of the transition of all the republic's automotive transportation to cleaner types of fuel—unethyated gasoline and low-sulfur diesel fuel—have been defined. Even this year, more than half of the gasoline will be produced using new technology.

The implementation of the indicated program requires the technical retooling of petroleum processing plants, which, among other things, will make it possible to almost double the production of asphalt. And this is an improvement in road surfacing which will also promote a reduction in the discharge of harmful substances into the atmosphere.

The purposeful work in the republic for the transition of motor vehicles to liquified and compressed natural gas fuel will be continued. In recent years, about 70 gas-filling compressor and natural gas-pumping stations have been built and brought into operation. This has made it possible for almost 50 million motor vehicles to

make the transition to natural gas fuel, and substantially reduce their harmful emissions.

The implementation of the range of measures stipulated by the draft State program for environmental protection and rational utilization of USSR natural resources through 2005 will allow for a reduction of discharges of harmful substances into the atmosphere to the maximum permissible quantities. This must become the program's final goal.

The status of the water resources whose pollution complicates the water supply remains complex. Last year, 2.5 billion cubic meters of polluted waste water was discharged into the republic's bodies of standing water. The main polluters are the ferrous metallurgical and coal industries, the community economy, the forest-chemical and agro-industrial complexes. And despite this situation, the building of water treatment installations is being carried out most unsatisfactorily.

Tell me, what, other than elementary irresponsibility, can explain the fact that in Dnepropetrovsk, the construction of treatment facilities on the right bank has continued for almost 20 years, but the construction of similar facilities on the left bank is taking 8 years already. And this is under conditions in which 370 million cubic meters of polluted waste water, or 14 percent of the total republic volume, is discharged into the Dnepr annually.

Comrades, in that same Dnepropetrovsk there works a large quantity of deputies, from the rayon echelon to the UkSSR Supreme Soviet. Why aren't their efforts, their exactingness directed toward the improvement of environmental protection construction in the oblast; why have they calmly observed this long-term construction for 20 years? Finally, why have television, radio, and the mass information media not once cited all the guilty parties of this outrage by name?

Water is utilized quite senselessly at many enterprises. Forty percent of the sugar refineries do not have water supply recycling systems. Enterprises of the chemical industry continue to pollute the Severskiy Donets river with industrial waste waters, causing a literally threatening situation to form in the entire Lisichansko-Rubezhanskiy region.

The issue of improving water provision and the ecological situation overall must become one of the main tasks of the newly-elected government and the local soviets of people's deputies.

The problem of small rivers, the majority of which are in a state of neglect, remains urgent. There are many reasons here. In particular, it has become a mass phenomenon to plow the embankment areas cutting down to the water, and to place mineral fertilizer storage and summer livestock sites in water conservation zones. However, to be frank, both the ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies, and the environmental protection organs have reconciled themselves to this situation.

Significant resources are needed to bring small rivers back to a normal sanitary status, to renew their water level. According to preliminary calculations, this amounts to over R2.5 billion. We must seek sources of financing these jobs. They will be partially implemented at the expense of enterprises and organizations, and an increase in payment for the water they use. It is necessary to determine in every oblast the concrete volumes of these jobs and the time frames for their execution.

And one other thing. At the past session of the republic Supreme Soviet, certain deputies quite rightfully posed the question of bringing order to the water main-sewerage resources. A substantial portion of its network is in unsatisfactory technological condition. This is one of the causes of the periodic exacerbation of the sanitation and public health situation, especially on the Black Sea and Sea of Azov coasts. Many other treatment facilities function poorly, and do not provide the necessary treatment. And the people working there have reconciled themselves to this, for there is not the proper exactingness on the part of the managers.

We must take decisive measures for the complete cessation of the discharge of polluted waste waters into bodies of water. For this, we are faced with building water treatment facilities with a total capacity of 11 million cubic meters per day, that is, to almost double them. More than one-half of the volume of these jobs are slated for implementation in the coming 5-year-plan.

Under the conditions of worsening water quality from surface and underground sources, the problem of providing the population with drinking water takes on particular importance. Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Water Resources Construction] and Minzhilkommunkhoz [Ministry of Housing and Communal Resources] are faced with great tasks here.

The UkSSR Academy of Sciences, and workers in community resources must accelerate the execution of the republic scientific and technological program for the development and introduction of a new technology for obtaining high-quality drinking water in the 13th 5-year-plan.

The current status of the republic land reserve causes deep concern. Our farming was extensively developed for a prolonged period, in many location without consideration for agro-ecological demands.

In particular, many miscalculations are permitted in the design, construction, and utilization of irrigation systems. Taking into account the effects of other water factors, this led to the flooding of almost 50,000 hectares of arable land. Such a situation is the consequence of an extremely irresponsible attitude toward conservation of earth's resources.

What, in our view, should be done to improve the protection of land resources?

First of all, a soil-protection, contoured-land system of farming should be inculcated in all lands subject to the danger of erosion. Last year, the UkSSR Council of Ministers Presidium considered the Concept of farming development until 2005, which stipulates the introduction of this system over an area of more than 10 million hectares of arable land, with 3 million hectares during the 13th 5-year-plan.

Secondly, the application is planned in all farms of an integrated system of vegetation defense which will be based upon a skillful combination of agro-equipment, organizational-management, biological, and chemical resources. The issue of pesticide use is especially urgent. In their day, they attracted us with their ease and accessibility of application, their rapid and effective deadly action on pests and weeds. Yet far from everyone understood that these poisonous chemicals were at the same time hazardous to humans as well.

Science must find a way out here. On the order of the republic Council of Ministers UkSSR Agroprom, the scientific institutions of the Southern Division of VASKhNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin], and the UkSSR Academy of Sciences are now working on the creation of disease- and pest-resistant species and hybrids. We must also take up seriously the development and introduction of new-generation ecologically safe pesticides, and efficacious methods of their utilization. This will allow for a decrease in the pesticide load on the environment.

We have already been convinced that for the time being, there is no getting around the use of chemicals. Yet the unconditional observance of environmental protection and sanitation norms, and a balanced correlation of nutritive substances should be achieved in the application of chemicals. It is necessary to completely reject the application of poisonous chemicals to those areas designated to yield produce for children's nutrition.

Thirdly, the policy regarding watering systems must be examined in every oblast. Efforts here should be concentrated primarily upon the reconstruction of obsolete irrigation systems. By the next 5-year plan, we must triple the volume of work for the renewal of irrigation systems. The complete re-equipment of the collection-drainage network and the reconstruction of the drying systems needing this is slated for completion.

The fourth thing. The volume of recultivated lands must be increased significantly, with bringing them up to the level of their continuous cultivation. For this, it is necessary in the coming years to recultivate not less than 185,000 hectares of the land in agricultural use in order that the entire land utilization system in industry take a soil-protection, environmental protection direction.

And finally, a reduction of the withdrawal of productive lands from non-agricultural needs, for warehousing of production wastes and sludge storage will become a great reserve. There is one route here—under the conditions of a reduction of the wastes of mineral resources, it is

necessary not so much to increase their yield as to achieve more complete and comprehensive utilization. And this will significantly reduce the quantity of wastes whose storage also requires land. Approximately 9 billion metric tons of these wastes have accumulated, occupying an area of over 100,000 hectares. In the dumps are insufficiently extracted rocks, various types of clay and slate.

Can this be a normal situation when the construction people complain about the shortage of gravel and sand, while at the same time, a substantial portion of them may be replaced by raw material from the dumps? In order to correct the situation, the oblsposkoms, together with the ministries and departments, must rapidly create on their basis inter-branch enterprises for the production of the necessary construction materials.

The provision of the necessary sanitation status of the forests is on the agenda. For this, it is necessary to expand the application of their biological means of defense, and substantially increase the area of the republic's nature reserve fund. It is necessary for the appropriate ministries and departments to take more effective measures for the preservation of reserves, national nature parks, and other reserved territories.

The resolution of the problems of development of our resorts, and creating conditions for workers' recreation and treatment are taking on exceptionally important significance. In the near future, it is planned to develop the inventory of sites for popular recreation, to review the classification of resort areas, and to stipulate the priority development of those branches which ensure the social progress of the resort regions, aimed at restoring the strength and health of the workers.

Comrade deputies! In summing up what has been said, I want to emphasize that the government considers the fundamental trend of the work for the improvement of the environment and the increase of people's ecological safety in the short term to be:

- implementing an ecologically based strategy for the development of the economy, its further structural re-orientation toward the accelerated development of the processing, food, and light industries, the expansion of consumer goods production, and the improvement of the people's welfare on this basis;
- limiting construction of new resource- and water-intensive and power-intensive enterprises;
- implementing reconstruction and technological retooling of ecologically hazardous enterprises of heavy industry thought the application of low-waste and non-waste producing technologies;
- increasing the volume of reserve for construction of environmental protection facilities and treatments plants;
- improving republic land funds through wide introduction of soil protection and contour-land reclamation systems;
- comprehensively developing the advanced trends in genetics, biotechnology, and biological means of plant defense as a basis for reducing the pesticide load on the environment and raising the efficiency of agricultural production;
- raising the qualifications of specialists in the production and management sphere, and of labor and production discipline in all sectors, and the responsibility of each individual for the matter entrusted to him.

Like the majority of the measures I reported, the realization of the basic trends of activity for improving the state of the ecology indicated is foreseen by the draft Ukrainian SSR State program for environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources for the 13th 5-year-plan and through the year 2005.

According to preliminary data, the execution of the tasks of the indicated program will cost R20 billion by 2000 alone. And it must be borne in mind that a significant portion of these major resources should be sought in the republic budget under the specific conditions of self-management and self-financing.

The UkSSR Council of Ministers feels that the local soviets of people's deputies, enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and every labor collective must be involved in the financial and material-technical resources in the implementation of environmental protection measures. Only together, with common efforts can we realize the complicated tasks that we are now planning for the correction of the ecological situation.

III.

Esteemed comrade deputies! For almost 4 years now, the Chernobyl tragedy has been at the center of attention for the world community. Yet it most concerns the peoples of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Russia upon whose lot the atomic disaster fell directly. No other accident or natural disaster of the 20th century had such a destructive effect on the ecology of an enormous region, on man's life and health.

A great deal has already been said and written about the Chernobyl catastrophe. Nevertheless, the complexity of the problem requires me to single it out and report in more detail about the state of affairs today and our actions for the future. I will briefly remind you of the main things that have been done here.

At the first stage immediately after the accident, the task was to save and protect people who had been subjected to radiation effects. For this purpose, almost 93,000 people were relocated from the hazardous zones in a very short period.

Secondly. Obviously, not everyone knew then how urgently would arise the issue of the radiation protection

of the population of Kiev. As a direct participant in the elimination of the accident's effects from the first days, I can state with confidence that this was one of the chief tasks at the regular stage of elimination work. The life and safety of the population of a multi-millioned city depended upon it.

Above all, it was necessary to minimize contamination by radioactive dust. For this purpose, dust pressurization was widely used on the roads, and almost all transit automotive transportation had to be taken beyond the boundaries of Kiev. Use of water routes for freight transportation was maximized, starting at Pripyat.

Thirdly, Scientists predicted a possible radioactive contamination of the Dnepr. There was no way that this could be allowed; after all, 35 million people use water from its basin. Water protection works were implemented on an enormous scale (levees, borings, silt-retention dams, etc.). All cities situated along the Dnepr were switched to supply from underground sources. The realization of an entire range of measures allowed us to protect our main water artery, and Dnepr water contamination by radionuclides did not exceed permissible norms even in the most dangerous period after the accident.

Even in earliest days, a number of issues were resolved concerning the organization of medical services and monitoring the state of the population's health, especially children's health. In 1986 alone, 526,000 school-children and mothers with children were transported in an organized manner to other oblasts for recovery.

After the execution of a range of the most urgent jobs, the republic program for the elimination of the effects of the accident was developed for 1987-1989. A great volume of work was conducted for stabilizing the radiation situation, protecting people's health and creating for them the appropriate living and working conditions. Approximately 11,000 farm-type houses and 25 multi-unit buildings have been built for the population evacuated; over 600 social and service facilities have been built, and 350 kilometers of gas lines have been extended.

With the participation of oblasts, a range of measures for the purpose of creating the necessary living and activity conditions in the settled points located in the zone of the Chernobyl AES effects has been implemented. Some 114 social-cultural and service facilities have been built in 29 such points. Natural gas has been brought to over 10,000 residential dwellings; 163 kilometers of water pipes, 180 kilometers of vehicular roads, and 440 kilometers of gas distribution lines have been constructed.

I remind the deputies that the work for eliminating the accident's consequences has cost the state today R8 billion. To that should be added another R860 million in debts written off by the kolkhozes and sovkhoses located in the regions that suffered from the accident.

It must be stated that over the course of the entire period since the accident, and especially now, in various circles the discussion of the advisability and basis of the decisions adopted at the first stages of the elimination of its effects has not ceased. The interest in this problem is understandable. However, in my opinion, the evaluation of those events is frequently made from today's positions, across the gap from the overall circumstances existing at the scene and surrounding the accident.

It is also necessary to take into consideration that fact that neither we nor anyone abroad had not known a tragedy on such a scale, and for various reasons were unprepared for it in many ways. There were not enough individual means of protection, reliable tools for measuring radioactive contamination, as a result of which the information on the state of affairs was incomplete. This, of course, affected the efficacy of individual measures to a certain extent.

I will cite only one example. On the scientists' recommendation, we set great hope in conducting decontamination work in those settled points where the radiation level was somewhat lower than the maximum permissible norms. Radiation treatment work was conducted here on a large scale. The range of measures implemented and their efficacy yielded grounds for counting on a significant improvement of the radiation situation. Nevertheless, as time has shown, in certain regions this did not occur, and it was decided by the government to resettle people from individual settled points.

The deputies know that more than a little has already been done to overcome the Chernobyl disaster. However, the situation in the regions of ecological catastrophe remains tense and causes the government's particular concern. In view of this, I want to report on what is now being done to improve the fate of those people who have suffered from the accident.

In December 1989 the UkSSR Council of Ministers and the Ukrainian trade unions adopted a resolution on improving the living conditions and health maintenance of the population of the contaminated regions. It is in effect across 1,095 settled points in which dwell about one million people.

A decision was adopted on the resettlement and relocation in 1990-1991 of residents of settled points from which the government stipulates complete evacuation. Mothers with children will be resettled in the current year.

The residents of 14 settled points of Zhitomir and Kiev oblasts will move to new residences in 1990, and there will be a partial move from the rayon centers of Narod-ichi and Poleskoye—approximately 3,000 families, primarily those with children and pregnant women.

The UkSSR Council of Ministers has just adopted a resolution obligating the republic's oblispolkoms to reserve 800 apartments in buildings finished in 1990 for the account of central state capital investments, to be

granted to the families resettling from city-type villages of Poleskoye, Kiev Oblast, and Narodichi, Zhitomir Oblast.

The implementation of a program of works for the organization of necessary medical services and health monitoring is envisaged for those people who were in the accident's danger zones. I will enumerate only the main things that have already been done or are being done.

1. There has been created in the republic the All-Union Scientific Center for Radiation Medicine, comprising three institutes, with a modern diagnostic subdivision and a clinical base. The center offers consultative and medical assistance to those who suffered radiation during the elimination of the accident's effects, were evacuated, or are living in the controlled territory. The center is entrusted with the resolution of issues of coordinating scientific, preventive, and medical research on the problems of radiation medicine.

2. The Ukrainian Specialized Dispensary for the Population's Radiation Defense has been created; it carries out observations of people who suffered in the accident, children first and foremost. On the basis of the dispensary's data a register of the state of health is kept, containing information on over 300,000.

You all know of 22 rayons under special monitoring, which are given priority for medications, diagnostic, and dosimetric equipment, and ambulance services. A mobile diagnostic unit recently began to function in Ovruch.

3. The Republic Regional Center for Maternal and Child Health Maintenance has been organized on the basis of the clinic No. 2 of the former 4th Main Administration of the UkSSR the Ministry of Health in Kiev; it conducts research and treatment of mothers and children from Kiev, Zhitomir, and Chernigov oblasts, and the city of Kiev.

4. An extension of annual, as well as pre- and post-partum leaves, and a doubling of the financial assistance to children in low-income families are planned.

5. The decision has been adopted to annually allocate almost 83,000 summer-season passes for sanatoria-resort facilities for parents with children and pregnant women living in the regions subjected to radioactive contamination or evacuated from them.

According to the decision of the UkSSR Council of Ministers, the children's sanatorium "Smena" in Yevpatoriya, "Ukraina" in Gagra, and "Chernomorskiy" under construction in Yalta have been transferred away from the former 4th Main Administration of the UkSSR the Ministry of Health for the treatment of these people.

6. Free maintenance of children in preschool facilities, board for schoolchildren, and the allocation of financial compensation for families subject to resettlement are specified. The issues associated with their priority delivery of housing and employment have been resolved.

What is planned for the long term?

The UkSSR Council of Ministers, with the participation of the Kiev, Zhitomir, Chernigov, Rovno, and Cherkassy oblispolkoms, the republic ministries, departments, and scientific has developed a draft of the Comprehensive Program for the Elimination of the Accident's Effects until the year 2000.

This document defines the practical problems in the creation of conditions for the population's safe life activity in all the controlled regions. It is planned, in particular, to strengthen the material-technical base of health facilities, to build for this purpose hospitals, ambulatory clinical facilities, midwifery-obstetric centers, sanatoria, rooming houses, physical culture sites, and the such like. The allocation of R672 million for these purposes alone is planned.

One of the main problems is the improvement of nutrition in the regions which suffered from the accident, particularly children's nutrition. A substantial expansion of the network of enterprises of trade and public nutrition is planned under the program. Resources have already been allocated for the purchase of imported equipment with a 15 metric ton per shift capacity to produce children's dairy products. It will be installed at the fourth dairy plant in Kiev. Using equipment purchased abroad, the construction of a canned milk combine for the production of children's dairy and cultured mild products is planned in the city of Khorol, Poltava Oblast.

During the Ukrainian delegation's stay in Bavaria, we held preliminary negotiations on the organization of a joint venture for the production of meat-vegetable preserves for children. The issue of purchasing two lines for producing sterilized milk for priority distribution to the population of the regions that suffered from the accident is now being resolved.

We feel that with the implementation of these plans, in 1993 we will fully meet our requirements for children's nutrition products. The main thing now is labor and a high level of responsibility for the execution of what has been planned.

For the recovery of economic conditions and the improvement of the quality of agricultural production in the current year, work on land with a high level of contamination in the regions indicated will be halted; dairy herds will be removed from these zones. It is planned that the farms located here will be reprofiled.

Measures are also specified for the scientific provision of the program. This work is now headed by the Republic Interbranch Coordinating Center under the UkSSR Academy of Sciences. More than 40 scientific institutions of the republic and country have been involved in conducting the research.

I would like to request of the scientists of the Academy of Sciences, the republic Ministry of Health, and the

Southern Division of VASKhNIL directly concerned with this problem that in addition to executing the basic scientific developments, they give the population functional information and everyday recommendations. Qualified specialists well informed of the state of affairs must speak to the population more frequently.

I feel that through this we will eliminate many of the questions the population has, and will predict in time any sort of sensationalism that may arise. After all, it is such lack of information and uninformedness* generate groundless fear and rumors.

The execution of the entire volume of the tasks specified by the Comprehensive Program will require approximately R15 billion, including almost R7 billion for the 13th 5-year-plan. The development and agreement with this plan is now being completed. We are reckoning upon the union government supporting our proposals.

I want to assure the deputies that the republic Council of Ministers will in the future continue to hold the Chernobyl problem at the center of attention, and will seek additional opportunities for the speediest possible resolution.

Comrade deputies! In connection with the discussion of this issue, allow me to speak briefly on the development of nuclear power in the republic in the future. Our positions are clear—we stand for the minimum number of nuclear reactors in the Ukrainian land. Proceeding specifically from this, and relying upon the broad support of the public and scientists, the UkSSR Council of Ministers in conjunction with the Ukrainian CP Central Committee has already attained the limitation of development of nuclear power in the republic.

Apart from this remains the issue of the further operations of the Chernobyl AES. What is the main complication here? Before halting the work of its nuclear reactors, scientists and operators are faced with resolving an entire range of complex scientific and technical problems associated with this process. There is nothing analogous to this in world practice. Secondly, we must make a reliable balance of electric power in the republic, having envisaged in it the future development of our national economy, and in particular, that of Kiev. We must also take into consideration the growing requirements of the population.

On the basis of what has been said, the UkSSR Council of Ministers feels it advisable to entrust the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, UkSSR Gosplan, and UkSSR Minenergo [Ministry of Power and Electricity], involving the country's appropriate scientific institutions, with the development of a special program for taking the Chernobyl AES out of operation. It is necessary in this program to establish the stages and sequential priority of the resolution of the problems indicated, the material-technological and financial resources necessary, and to specify the superintendent of the work.

I will add one more thing. In limiting the development of nuclear power, we must all recognize that for the improvement of life and the people's welfare, we must substantially increase the power supply both in production and in our daily lives. Here the republic still lags far behind the level of industrially developed countries. This situation may be corrected only at the cost of increasing production and consumption of electric power.

In light of this, I feel that we should consider the draft of the republic Power Engineering Program all the sooner, especially those trends which concern the comprehensive energy savings, the opportunities for further development of thermal power engineering, and the utilization of alternative sources of energy.

Here our scientists, power engineers, and physicists are faced with great tasks. They must propose such scientific solutions and developments whose introduction even under limited development of nuclear power would not lead to a reduction in the level of meeting all the requirements of electric power.

IV.

Comrade deputies! The perestroika of the economic mechanism, the creation of the structure and conditions for local self-management on the basis of economic accountability which is now taking place in our republic demand radical changes in the construction and principles of the activity of all organs of the environmental protection system. Certain things are already being done here in the organizational plan. The reorganization on a new operational basis of the UkSSR State Committee for Environmental Protection [Goskompriroda] was recently implemented. Corresponding structures were formed on the oblast, city, and rayon level.

A department of the ecology has been created in the government apparatus; a UkSSR Council of Ministers commission is constantly working on extraordinary situations. In a number of oblasts, the post of oblispolkom deputy chairman directly concerned with issues of the Chernobyl accident has been created.

The task of changes in the economy of nature utilization is posed as a priority under the new conditions. All measures for the introduction of the economic mechanism into this sphere must be precisely bound to radical economic reform, to the principles of expansion of the rights of industrial enterprises, local soviets of people's deputies, and the republic soviet on the whole.

For this purpose, the results of the economic experiment now being conducted in certain cities and oblasts should be more fully exploited. The fundamental norms of the maximal permissible discharge of hazardous substances into the atmosphere and water should be developed already this year, so that starting with 1991, the mechanism of compensating the damage done to nature as the result of economic activity may be introduced.

The key ecological-economic factors being developed must be tested by regions.

As its final goal, all this work must be aimed at the combination of interests of the economy and the ecology, and a significant improvement of matters of nature utilization. It is necessary to create such a mechanism so that damage to the environment and irrational utilization of natural resources would be economically disadvantageous to enterprises.

This undoubtedly requires a significant improvement in the environmental protection legislation, the elimination of the spheres of lawlessness still in existence. That is why it would be expedient to charge the new government with developing and introducing for the consideration of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet the Ukrainian SSR draft law on environmental protection.

The preparation should also be specified of draft laws on specially reserved nature territories, on the conservation and rational utilization of flora. It is necessary to begin a review of the water and forest codes, and to make changes and supplements to legislative acts on health care, the atmosphere, etc.

The work of the republic sanitary-epidemiological service must be radically improved, and the development of the basis of the sanitary legislation and the draft law on state sanitary supervision be accelerated. All sanitary-anti-epidemiological measures must be aimed not only at punishing law violators, but primarily at promoting the prevention of environmental pollution.

The government feels that environmental protection procuracies should be created in the most ecologically hazardous regions of the republic to supervise legality in the sphere of environmental protection and utilization of natural resources; these have acquitted themselves well in the Azov-Black Sea region.

Here I must accentuate the fact that the intensification of everybody's responsibility for observing the requirements of ecological laws requires a major improvement of ecological information, its applicability, its broad accessibility, and reliability. And the government will fully support this. Without such information, it is practically impossible to implement a restructuring of the economy on an ecological basis. Nor is progress in general possible without this.

The role and importance of science in the resolution of ecological problems is growing incredibly. I have already spoken about this. I would only add that scientists from our Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of higher education, and branch institutions must accelerate the development and introduction of low-waste and non-waste producing technologies, effective methods of water and air treatment, and environmental protection equipment.

Envisaged for these purposes is the development and implementation in the 13th 5-year-plan of a number of

science and technology programs geared toward improving the ecological situation.

The problem of ensuring the ecological purity of agricultural production remains quite topical. It is necessary for academic and agricultural science, together with medicine, to develop within the shortest possible time frame a range of hygienic norms, rules, and technologies to prevent the negative effects of mineral fertilizers, pesticides, and other chemical substances on food products.

Before our scientific workers and producers is the task of developing an automated republic system of monitoring of the ecological situation whose constituent parts must comprise the systems of regional and branch ecological monitoring. Here we must more effectively utilize the potential of the defense branches. We put great hope in the special program "The Conversion—to the Ecology."

Comrades! Ecological changes, and, I think, sometimes catastrophes as well, have convinced us of the fact that the ecology is an international concept. Today, the resolution of global ecological problems requires a unification of efforts, and the Ukraine's close cooperation with foreign countries and international organizations.

This is exactly what was discussed at the Ukrainian delegation's negotiations in Bavaria. The West German side showed great interest in such cooperation and introduced a proposal to hold a scientific symposium in the Ukraine this year. We were offered valuable equipment and modern measuring apparatus which will be used to monitor the environment in the most ecologically hazardous regions.

The appropriate ministries and departments should develop programs for the execution of the responsibilities adopted by the republic for the ratification of international accords on environmental protection issues. The most important thing is to ensure the more complete exploitation of international experience and cooperation for the improvement of the ecological situation, and the acceleration of production's transition to resource-conserving and non-waste producing technologies.

The recently growing public concern for the environment was conditioned by the emergence in the republic of dozens of ecological associations, groups, clubs, and centers of various profiles. Thus, the "Zeleniy Svit" ecological association, the committee to save the Dnepr and small rivers, and the committee to save the Sea of Azov have recently been organizationally registered. Public committee on the problems of the Danube, the Dniester, and the Southern Bug, and the Khortitsy islands also exist. In a number of oblasts, there are already examples of productive joint work of local soviets of people's deputies, scientific institutions, and the mass information media with the society for nature conservation and other ecological associations.

The republic government is convinced that the active public movement, suffused with concern for the recovery

of the environment and directed towards advocating ecological demands is a noble, patriotic cause. The local soviets of people's deputies are obliged to offer them the necessary support, and to consolidate the public's efforts for joint work. On this score, I only wish to emphasize that to assist does not just mean sounding the alarm in case of disaster, just resorting to loud slogans and appeals. Today, joint painstaking work, a unity of actions, and concrete results of the work in ensuring the reliable conservation of our natural resources are necessary.

It can be stated without exaggeration that all further activity in radical perestroyka of the cause of environmental protection is simply impossible without all society's profound concern with this, without the ecologization of all our thinking, without a substantial increase in the level of ecological expertise.

Every person's conscientious, caring attitude toward nature must be formed in childhood, within the family, in school, in educational institutions, and directly on the production line. The activity of all indoctrinational and educational organs, the mass information media, literature, and the arts must be directed toward this.

The entire environmental protection system is in urgent need of supplementary personnel, of perestroyka in the sphere of training highly qualified ecological specialists. Here the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of higher education, and the Ministry of Public Education are faced with great tasks. It is necessary to expand significantly the network of ecological courses of personnel retraining, and the internship of prospective scientific staffers in VUZs, institutes, and foreign ecological centers.

Esteemed comrade deputies!

The government has reported to you the fundamental measures which we must implement in the near future in order to radically improve the ecological situation in the

republic, and halt backsliding to an unacceptable level in its individual regions. Their realization demands great means and substantial material resources. According to preliminary calculations, we will need R45-50 billion along with the expenses specified for the elimination of the effects of the Chernobyl AES accident. The utilization of these funds is not a simple task. Everyone must take up its solution together, for it can be executed only through joint efforts and joint labor. Yet seeking these means is even more complicated.

That is why it is necessary to introduce the priority tasks of the planned regional programs into the plans of the ministries, departments, enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes now being developed, as well as the State Plan for the republic's socioeconomic development in the 13th 5-year-plan. In light of this, today we would like to listen to the deputies' proposals for the development of the republic's national economy in the short term, and the growth of its economic potential with consideration for the existing ecological situation.

I am convinced that during the process of discussing the report, the deputies will introduce their additions and comments, which will more fully reveal this important and very complex problem, in addition to supplementing UkSSR Supreme Soviet draft decree presented for your consideration.

The government is certain that the implementation of the measures specified in the draft, as well as of those which will be supplementally undertaken by local soviets and economic organs will enable the normalization, and in the long run, even improve the ecological situation in various regions and in the republic as a whole.

Comrade deputies! What our land, our rivers, forests, and air will be like depends upon each of us individually and all of us together. Let us do everything incumbent upon us with mutual efforts and concrete matters in order that the rich, unique nature of the Ukraine be better tomorrow than it is today.

Youth Reactions to New Political Ideology

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[Report on discussion, edited by Marina Mulina: "Do Young People Believe in Socialism?"]

[Text] On the eve of preparations for the 21st Komsomol Congress the Scientific Research Center of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School founded a discussion club for the purpose of discussing the most urgent problems.

"Young People and the Idea of Socialism" was the first discussion topic. These were some of the participants in the discussion: **Aleksandr Bek**, associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Physical Chemistry Institute; **Igor Ilinskiy**, director of the Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center and candidate of philosophical sciences; **Nataliya Kozlova**, associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and candidate of philosophical sciences; **Valentina Levicheva**, department head at the Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center and doctor of philosophical sciences; **Anatoliy Somov**, All-Union Komsomol Central Committee instructor; **Maksim Sotnikov**, associate of Moscow State University Nuclear Physics Scientific Research Institute and candidate of physical and mathematical sciences; **Emiliya Sokolova**, department head at the Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center and candidate of philosophical sciences; **Anatoliy Shendrik**, department head at the Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center and candidate of philosophical sciences; and **Valeriy Drozdov**, associate of the Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center. The following are excerpts from the discussion.

[Ilinskiy] Communist ideology is in crisis: this has been proclaimed by a high party forum. Yet many political leaders still do not want to accept this idea. These topics are still taboo: What is Marxism-Leninism? Science or utopia? What happened to the socialist ideal? If one is to believe official reports, it has "taken firm root and become a part of Soviets' flesh and blood." "Soviets have made their socialist choice" and "socialism's potential is inexhaustible." But I digress. Pardon me, because all these are obvious, abstract thoughts. We have not had any reliable sociological work on this subject. So what is the basis for such optimistic conclusions? Our center conducted an all-union study on young people's value orientations. We polled 7,730 young people from 42 oblasts in 10 republics (all except the Transcaucasian republics, Lithuania and Estonia). We gathered a unique body of sociological material. On the basis of that material we dare to assert that in fact the situation in which the socialist ideal finds itself is an extremely dramatic one.

Here, for example, are the answers we received to the question: "Toward what social system is humanity headed over the long term?"

—only 8.4 percent replied "communism";

—approximately 13 percent of young people feel that the future lies with capitalism;

—almost 48 percent see the future in terms of a search for a "third" path which will combine the advantages of socialism and capitalism;

—over 31 percent replied "I do not know."

Only 22 percent of the young people surveyed said that they accept the ideals of older generations.

We asked: "If you were given an opportunity to leave the USSR, what would you do?"

—20.5 percent replied "I would go to another country";

—15 percent of those would prefer a capitalist country;

—18.5 percent replied "difficult to say."

These figures should not be perceived as a tragedy. They reflect much that is emotional and connected with the present situation in society and in the socialist world. When the situation improves these figures will change. But they should not be ignored, either.

[Sotnikov] I lived in a university dormitory for 14 years. And I can tell you that when students discuss socialism in the kitchen they often preface references to it with the phrase "I hate." Of course their assessments in lecture halls are more restrained. But at the present time it is very difficult (I am referring to Moscow State University) to defend the ideas of Marx and Lenin and of a socialist or communist society in student circles. Students are more oriented toward social democracy on the model of Sweden or Finland.

[Kozlova] We get asked what must be done to restore people's shaken faith in the ideas of socialism. Why, do we want that kind of unswerving faith again? Do we have to manipulate people's consciousness in some way so as to revive it? I think that the disintegration of that unswerving faith is a good thing. An ideal is only normal when it is born of choice.

[Bek] Engels had the thesis that dogmatism is the life blood of religion. By 1929, following the elimination of all other doctrines, our theory has been transformed into a religion. And the things we are dealing with now are strongly reminiscent of the disintegration of the Catholic Church and the division of Christianity into two branches, a time when efforts are being made to preserve the most stable dogmas, change others and introduce a new branch of the religion. I think that we should not be trying to create a new religion, a new ideologically-based society. We should be renouncing ideology as a motive force altogether.

[Ilinskiy] A system of values can grow not only out of an ideology (faith in the ideals of communism, selfless devotion to the communist party, and collectivism), but also from freedom, for example.

[Levicheva] But what about our social tradition? Because for us the ideal is spiritual uplift beyond the bounds of the individual. Yet now we want to locate this ideal inside the individual, to "lower its level."

[Bek] That tradition is connected with absolutism in Russia. I perceive the tendencies which exist in our country as the natural continuation of the czarist order. The monarch has simply been replaced by a general secretary. The problem is how to overcome tradition.

[Drozdov] I get the impression that you are dismissing altogether the idea of an ideal as the regulator of our public life. That is a very dangerous thing. A society which loses its ideals loses the purpose of its development.

[Sotnikov] When we were working on the original draft of the new Komsomol Charter the most attractive category for us was "freedom." The left pole, the anarchists, in our opinion interpret complete freedom as conditions under which an individual does whatever he or she wants. But this could conflict with the wishes of another individual. That concept is unworkable. Another concept is classic capitalism, in which the regulators are so strong that they enslave the individual completely and do not permit individual development. Marx's idea was attractive because it attempted to find the proper conditions both for maximum individual freedom and for consideration of society's interests by combining individuals in some kind of association.

[Somov] Yes, but we are talking about paths to freedom. Our revolution occurred in the form of an overthrow. But in the end this overthrow resulted in even greater exploitation of the individual than in Western society. To expropriation of all the surplus value of labor, to complete liquidation of the peasantry. In essence the system we created was anti-people, even though it was established under slogans about the people. It divided us into "us" and "them," into a ruling elite and those who labor.

[Shendrik] Everything we are saying reflects the notion that there was only a single idea, which was imposed on people. That is not in line with the historical truth. Up until 1929 several concepts existed, including the radical leftist concept, which was defended by those who subsequently found themselves on the executioner's block.

[Somov] Yet there was much which was typical for all Eastern European countries: elimination of the multi-party system, independent courts and all civil rights, which were merely proclaimed by the constitution. A monopoly on information was established, and in the economy autonomous producers were eliminated.

[Sotnikov] Now we are seeking a different path to freedom. Several weeks ago Gagarinskiy Komsomol Raykom in Moscow registered an organization consisting of nine individuals calling themselves young communists, yet their program smacks of National Socialism. The thought gives me a chill: might the

Komsomol be handed over to people like them? Is this a necessary prerequisite for the normal functioning of society: the appearance of small groups of fascists, super-democrats, left-wing and right-wing politicians, and so on? That is pluralism of actions, not just of opinions.

[Ilinskiy] I brought up these questions during discussions in Sweden, France, the United States and Italy. What Maksim Sotnikov is talking about exists everywhere. Look at Sweden, a free society. Even there there are fascists, Stalinists, Brezhnevites and various other groups struggling with one another. Their society grumbles; it is dissatisfied. But people are still searching. A state of political instability is a constant; people have gotten used to it, it has become the norm. This instability forces society to keep an eye on political processes, not to lose sight of them. Efforts must be made to ensure that the "brown" forces do not come to power. When just recently for the first time in 50 years the Social Democrats lost the elections, all the social guarantees they had won were wiped out within the ensuing five years. And society turned back to a Social Democratic government. The things in our society today which seem to signal the birth of chaos are in fact an inevitable transition to a normal state of affairs. In the end we will arrive at a state of ceaseless economic and political competition.

[Sokolova] I would like for us to understand that the portrait of society and young people cannot be complete without a look at the world of children. Yet nonetheless children's sociology has remained completely undeveloped. Therefore I would like to direct your attention to that portion of our study which concerns children and teenagers between the ages of nine and 14.

We explored the question of how children relate to communism:

- 14 percent of those surveyed feel that it is impossible to build communism and that it is merely a dream;
- 42 percent either do not know the answer to the question or are not interested in it at all;
- 38 percent feel that communism will become a reality.

As you can see, the group we will provisionally call the "vacuum" predominates.

"Who should own factories, plants and land?":

- 63 percent feel that everything should belong to the people and to the state;
- approximately 30 percent are in favor of a combination of state and private property;
- seven percent favor only private property.

Almost 40 percent of the children had a positive opinion of cooperatives' activities and would like to work for a cooperative themselves. A total of 60 percent feel that criticism of our shortcomings is good; 25 percent do not know what to think about it; and six percent expressed a

negative opinion of it. Only about one-half of the school-children agreed with the statement that Stalin did great harm to our country. In the city more children thought so than did those in the country, as did more boys than girls. A total of 35 percent feel that Stalin was guilty of many things but that he also did much that was good and correct. Eight percent assert that he was a good leader and should not be condemned. Obviously this is a projection of that group of adults which continues to support Stalinist views. We had children imagine a situation in which they could ask M. S. Gorbachev a question. First place (approximately one-third of those surveyed) went to questions connected with shortages of goods. Second place was taken by questions concerning Gorbachev's personal life. How much does he work? What is his salary? What is his opinion of religion? What does he think about the Pioneers? Does he believe in restructuring? There was one other question which is somewhat more pointed: "If you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, were made head of state all over again, would you launch restructuring again or not?" There was a group of economic demands: the right to work, to have one's own cooperative, to be economically independent. Those who are members of Pioneer organizations seem especially deprived of rights: demands were for Pioneers to have some small rights, any rights at all; some demanded the right to choose whether to join the Pioneers or not.

A clear desire to take part in politics was expressed: to propose one's own amendments to the Soviet Constitution or one's own representatives to a congress, to vote for people's deputies at the age of 15, etc. Yet in spite of the broad spectrum of wishes our study revealed this characteristic trait: virtually all were impractical. In response to the question: "In what way could you and your classmates help your city and your country?" we received zero responses. This is evidently connected with the rhetorical style of our educational system.

Our survey contained the question: "Who would you like to resemble?" First place went to mama and papa. Then followed a huge list of movie stars, singers and dancers. Teacher was in ninth place. Then came grandmother and grandfather. Pioneer leader was in 16th place. Heroes of labor came in last. But overall we can draw this conclusion: children are tightly interwoven in our social milieu.

We had many different methodologies, and all of them confirm the connection between children and the restructuring process: their need for a better sense of social self-worth and certain social expectations connected with our country's future.

[Drozдов] If you had not told us that this was a study of children we might have thought you were talking about a group of adults. In my opinion that is very typical of our society. Perhaps even tragically typical. It appears that human beings are being drawn into politics at an early age, before they are even fully formed in a moral sense. It seems to me that this system, which took shape in the 1930's, was definitely created with intent. We need a mechanism which will mold a moral individual. Let us

create it and cherish it. The only thing in this study that was heartening is the fact that mama and papa still hold the highest place in children's hearts, not some mythical heroes.

[Bek] Generally speaking, I am disturbed by the notion that the Komsomol as a political organization should devote more attention to the Pioneer organization. By the attempt to link them. From the standpoint of reason this should not be done; we do not need to raise a new generation of dogmatists. It is an immoral act to force ideology and political views on minors. It is the same as getting them involved in sex. Politics is a very subtle and not very clean business. Presently a natural process is underway tending to make teenage organizations more "Scout-like." To remove their political element entirely, to preserve some kind of world-view foundations in their most elementary, commonly human forms, to create sports- and health-oriented movements. So that a person will be prepared for the stage when he can enter into political life by making a conscious choice. Yes, adults should pay attention to the children's and teenage movement, but not through the party and the Komsomol. In the future the Komsomol will either split of its own accord, or will shrink in size while other youth political organizations spring up alongside it. But those would be for those who are over the age of 14 or, better yet, over the age of 16. There should be an agreement between those organizations that we are not going to get children involved in the game.

[Ilinskiy] Marx wrote that subjects which permit a party- or class-oriented interpretation should not be introduced either in elementary or in secondary school. Period.

I would like to go back to the very beginning of our discussion of the socialist idea. What does restructuring actually mean? Are we updating the old socialism? Or are we in fact talking about a different kind of socialism? This is a question that really nags me. I think that we are going to have to ponder it long and hard. If we are referring to the socialist idea from the moment of origin of the theory of scientific communism, and in particular from the October Revolution to the present day, then I believe that humanity is saying farewell to that kind of socialism. And if we wish merely to update or, worse, reconstruct the socialist idea in that form, then this is not going to be something that is popular with rational people. I, for example, do not understand how the Leninist model of the 1920's can be used to build the society of the 21st century, although of course there is much in Lenin's works that is worthy of attention. In general I take a very cautious attitude toward models. The precious experience which we have should be incorporated in the evolution of the socialist idea merely as one aspect of its development. Socialism's roots reach back across the centuries. It is a worldwide process. In this sense the socialist idea belongs neither to the CPSU, nor to Lenin, nor to Marx; they are not its fathers. Hence it is not the CPSU Central Committee which will decide the question of whether or not the socialist idea will continue to exist. Socialism can be neither banned nor

permitted. Who has the authority to do so? Well, some parties besides the CPSU have renounced Marxism-Leninism, and as a consequence abandoned the Leninist model. But that did not make communists in those countries disappear. They are still there, and will continue to be there.

It seems to me that the idea of socialism, if we are not attempting to save it for our own sake, in order to justify our past existence and ensure our continued good fortune, if we think about it seriously, should be written into the context of general human evolution. Then this idea will have a future and not just a past. We should bear in mind that socialization is occurring in capitalist society. I believe that only through a world-view consensus and the building of a new, common civilization can humanity continue to develop. I have also arrived at this conclusion through my numerous meetings with people from Western countries, who regard us in a completely benevolent manner. Only in this way can Gorbachev's thesis regarding the priority of common human values over class-oriented ones become clearly fruitful; only then will this thesis look not like a tactical or political maneuver, but instead like a strategic statement of a world view.

But I would like to note that thus far we have done virtually nothing toward the realization of this very valuable thesis inside our country. And the West already sees that. Now they are starting to talk about the Soviets' usual focus on the international arena. All right, they are saying, two years have passed since Gorbachev made his statement before the UN. We applaud it. So what is happening in your country? In your country you have "the expanding role of the working class," "the leading role of the party," "genuine socialist values," declarations of indissoluble unity and the struggle for "our" ideas, etc. That is to say, ideas are circulating which are diametrically opposed to the ones being proclaimed to the world. What results is two types of new thinking: one for the world community, and another for domestic consumption. I believe that we are at the stage of development where we must talk everything through completely. And obviously we are experiencing that difficult moment when once again we require intelligence and courage in order to make this breakthrough a reality.

[Bek] I am in solidarity with you on all points. However, I am not certain that if we had completely democratic elections today and people chose what they wanted that it would be this particular concept which would prevail. It seems to me that other tendencies have much stronger momentum: who get what, and ideas like that. But not the idea of a de-ideologized consensus. So what transitional step is necessary to keep the things from falling apart?

[Ilinskiy] This question is indeed the most pressing one today. The matter of how to unify a country which is huge in geographic extent, extremely culturally diverse and comprised of peoples who live in different eras and

even different civilizations. There can be no universal, "exclusive" solutions for all. It is simply impossible to bring everyone into a new state of existence simultaneously. This is a highly complicated issue and a subject for separate discussion.

Culture Minister Gubenko Describes Accomplishments, Plans

90UNI204A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 9,
26 Feb-4 Mar 90 pp 7, 18

[Interview of USSR Minister of Culture N. I. Gubenko at the "33 + 1" international press club of female journalists by SOYUZ special correspondent and "33 + 1" board member Aleksandra Lugovskaya: "An Atypical Minister"]

[Text] "Perestroyka as applied to culture," USSR Minister of Culture Nikolay Nikolayevich Gubenko began our conversation, "this is our first chance to talk truthfully and honestly about accumulated misfortunes, to obtain priority for its development from the people and the government. For decades, culture has had to face false, ideologized goals, a mythical unity was proclaimed that excluded national differences. Now, we have to unite the past and the present, to return culture to its normal state. With regard my assuming the post of minister, then I consider this a temporary thing and, as formerly, consider that the most important matter in my life is to be a director.

[Question] You call the present state of culture unfortunate. What, specifically, do you have in mind? What would you call its prospects?

[Gubenko] Every year, 1.2 percent of the state budget, or about six billion rubles, is allocated for the development of culture in the broad sense—art, the movies, television, the press, education. This is nothing. And so, if the system of financial support does not become decentralized, if culture does not receive an infusion paid for by non-budget appropriations, including patronage and sponsorship, then we will not be able to expect anything better.

The first thing that it is necessary to do in this direction is to shift the burden of responsibility for the state of culture to local authorities: in the rayon, the city, the oblast. They know far better than in the center the needs of the population. And deductions from enterprises, institutions, kolkhozes and sovkhoses should become the source of financing. A mandatory, standard percentage, designated in advance solely for the development of culture. Then, any worker will be able to go to his own deputy and say: "Why don't we have a concert hall with an organ, why is there no library? Indeed, we pay our taxes punctually." For the present, this is a dream, but one that it is necessary to aspire to.

Besides this, we can recall our own pre-revolutionary experience and examine present foreign experience that provides us with models of attitudes toward culture. For

example, in France, in each ministry, there is a budget allocation item for culture. Fantastic. But I consider it to be my task to convince each of my minister colleagues individually—and there are about sixty of them—of the necessity of such a kind of activity in our country as well.

[Question] You, Nikolay Nilolayevich, stress the temporary nature of your present activities. What is this—a path of retreat for the event of failure as minister of culture? Are you not causing harm by this to culture, to the intelligentsia that is placing great hopes in you?

[Gubenko] The intelligentsia should realize that Gubenko by himself will not do anything if it continues to concern itself only with what it has concerned itself up until now. If the intelligentsia wants to have new sources of financing, let it join in this matter, let it get to work. If we want to have legislation and to protect culture from infringements on the part of the state, to bring the authorities "to their knees" before the law, it is necessary to gather all juridical forces and to create such legislation. And humanitarization of education? Who, if not the intelligentsia, must, already today, sit down to this work? This is what disturbs me... And precisely for this reason I emphasize the transitory nature of my presence here. True, I have freedom of choice. The fifteen year period allotted to the government for the program that was approved by the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies gives every minister an opportunity to sort things out—what he can do and then to do this. Just as soon as I understand that I am accomplishing nothing, I will immediately retire.

[Question] Are you on your own?

[Gubenko] No, I have at my disposal the tight-knit, excellently organized apparatus of the ministry, which has already thrown a enormous quantity of paper at me. Soon, I will have to set a match to everything—it will be a case of arson by a minister. But, to be serious, people are waiting for specific assignments and are prepared to apply all their professional experience. I confess, until new functions, directions and structures have been worked out for the ministry, it has not come to this, but in the very near future I will be getting new deputies and then, I hope, we will begin to work at high capacity and in concord.

During the three months I have been in this building, I have been able to notice the following tendency: Our artists, actors, and executives have been infected with meeting sickness. They have an enormous quantity of ideas, they are able to give advice, to express regrets, but ... nobody is ready to sacrifice himself, to become the organizer of things, to come here and, together with us, to place them on a practical track. And this is what troubles me.

[Question] What have you already achieved?

[Gubenko] I consider one of the big achievements of this period to be consolidation of the efforts of all creative unions, or the USSR Academy of Sciences, of certain

funds, and of other organizations outside the ministry—and then our collective participation in discussion of the draft law on taxation within the Planning and Budget and Finance Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It is no secret that there is now a large exodus of people from structures subordinate to the ministry into cooperatives, funds, etc.—to where both the pay is higher and taxation is favorable. We, however, think that taxation should be equal in all spheres of culture, and then we will see a healthy competitiveness, a competition for creativity, and not for benefits. And so, if such a "disease of consolidation" will turn into an "epidemic" for other departments as well—for the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the State Committee for Cinematography, the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, and the State Committee for Public Education—and if we come to understand that culture is united, and not something disjointed, then we will be able to achieve a great deal.

[Question] Is this a formal concept?

[Gubenko] No, I still have not submitted a formal concept—I have many of these lying now in my safe. But, please, let me say something more about achievements... This won't take much time. We have succeeded in getting a pay increase for librarians and for exhibition and museum workers. True, I got involved only at the last stage, when it was necessary to obtain the desired signature on the resolution, but this also was not easy. The State Committee for Labor and Social Problems helped. We are also glad that we succeeded in convincing the public, the leaders of the state, and the press of the necessity of passing a law on culture in our country. We drew the attention of the entire world to the impoverished situation of the National Library imeni Lenin. The situation was analyzed, funds were allotted, and a USSR Supreme Soviet document recommending how they may best be used will appear very soon. We have established normal, human contacts with the Church. In the next two months or so, we will meet with representatives of all churches and religions and will work out a concept on collaboration. In the Russian Orthodox church, Catholicism, Islam, Hinduism... Because, the church is a direct part of culture. What else? It seems like a minor thing, but now the apartment of Meyerhold will become a museum. Citizenship has been returned to M. Rostropovich and to G. Vishnevskaya and the Washington National Symphony Orchestra has paid us a visit. There has been one other excellent celebration—the hundredth birthday of B. Pasternak, and I am glad that it passed in an unusual way—without the meetings and speeches of the period of stagnation. A museum was opened, people listened to his poems, visited his grave, and there was a memorial service in a church. I think that, if only in part, we atoned for our guilt in his regard.

[Question] We know of your role in restoring citizenship to M. Rostropovich and G. Vishnevskaya. But when will A. Solzhenitsyn be able to return to the Soviet Union. Who among the party and state officials makes such decisions?

[Gubenko] These questions are within the competence of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and a parliamentary commission is engaged in examination of the initial documents. I think that the moment has come when the problem of the emigration can be resolved in a comprehensive manner, especially with those of our countrymen who have been deprived of Soviet citizenship by impulsive, forceful means. People went abroad to give lectures, on artistic tours, and following in their footsteps came dispatches signed by Brezhnev and Chernenko. We should correct this mistake of the past, should give them, without any kinds of conditions, a possibility to receive citizenship. Whether they will take this or not, this is not our concern. It is another matter if we are talking about those who have at any time requested foreign citizenship—American, French, Israeli. Here, both a request for its return and an individual decision by a high organ of power are necessary. But the problem of the emigration must be closed once and for all, all the more so since our signing of the Vienna agreements, which concern human rights in this sphere as well. And not to give fodder to the worst sort of press which is making political capital from this. A person who considers the USSR his fatherland should have the opportunity to come here and leave when he wants. But I am speaking only about my own wishes. As USSR Minister of Culture I consider it my duty to direct the efforts of the intelligentsia also in this channel. As concerns A. Solzhenitsyn, then his return, it seems to me, would be only a good thing for everyone. This is, without argument, an outstanding writer, who revealed the truth to his motherland.

[Question] How precisely do you know that A. Solzhenitsyn wants to live in the Soviet Union?

[Gubenko] On the eve of his arrival in our country, M. Rostropovich met with and relayed the contents of his conversation with Aleksandr Isayevich here, at a press conference in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A. Solzhenitsyn asked him to pass on the following: "Tell them that I will return without fail as soon as my books receive sufficiently wide distribution among the people. I do not want the people to equate me with a 'traitor to the motherland' and an 'enemy of the people,' as I was charged with being by the USSR Supreme Soviet ukase which deprived me of Soviet citizenship." This is the sense of his statement. Perhaps, he will not return for always, but I am convinced that he is one of few Russian people in the West who really wants to live out the remainder of his days in the motherland. And we need to do everything to ensure that he is not late in doing so.

[Question] Are you an optimist?

[Gubenko] No, I ... am a thoughtful person.

[Question] Continue, will you, your phrase: "My happiness is Zhanna Bolotova..."

[Gubenko] The phrase is banal, but its sense is real for me. We have been living together for 26 years. Zhanna is my only wife. I simply cannot do without her. That's all there is to it. There isn't any more.

[Question] Are you a member of the CPSU?

[Gubenko] I joined the party two years ago, although before this, beginning in 1964, they proposed that I do this several times. In my statement I wrote: "I request that you accept me into the CPSU in connection with the fact that M.S. Gorbachev has come to power."

[Question] What happened at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum? What was the general mood, how did the discussions develop? I ask you about this as an actor and director.

[Gubenko] I have nothing to compare it with. This was the second plenum in my life. The first convened as a result of the decision of the 22nd Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Both of them showed a great variety of opinions and took place in a natural working confrontation, there were no similar addresses, only a few persons spoke from notes. As concerns emotions, then this was a hot, at sometimes excessively nervous discussion, but everybody was able to say what he was thinking. I did not perceive a frozen, cemented "unity" of the masses—and this is good. Personally, I wrote my address at the last minute, based on what had been said before me.

[Question] What kind of ties exist today between culture and democracy? What, in your opinion, is lacking most?

[Gubenko] First of all, an understanding of the very essence of democracy. We have become unaccustomed to it to such an extent that some perceive it as somehow being an unlimited right to carry out any desires they may have. But democracy is a definitely limited framework for the existence of the individual and for state institutions, and is certainly not anarchy. It seems to me that we are now holding an excessive number of meetings and that some people are already confusing meetings for work.

[Question] Are there forbidden zones for culture? How do you, the minister, intend to fight against these?

[Gubenko] Perhaps I am laboring under a delusion, but it seems to me that the glasnost and openness of recent years have left practically no forbidden zones. Beginning with criticism of the Politburo, of the situation in at the Bolshoi Theater, and ending with the state of the simple peasant. Sometimes such excessive social energy in discussion of professional questions is even a hindrance. It is important to sow this field that has been tilled by perestroyka and glasnost, and to begin to care for it.

[Question] I would like to know your opinion concerning between the Bolshoi Theater and western firms.

[Gubenko] We are talking about creating an international consortium, which the USSR Bolshoi Theater will join. There is a natural public fear—justified in my opinion—stemming from the fact that the agreement has been drawn up on the basis of English laws, inasmuch as Soviet law regulating relationships in the cultural field simply does not exist. But Soviet jurists as well as foreign

ones participated very closely in working out the contract and provided detailed recommendations; their corrections are now being inserted in it. I can state that the Bolshoi Theater will remain, as formerly, the national property of the country.

[Question] In your opinion, how many new theaters need to be created in Moscow?

[Gubenko] During the entire history of Soviet power, eight theaters and two concert halls have been built in Moscow. Today, there are 4.6 theater seats for every thousand residents of Moscow. Compare: There are 5 in Ashgabat, 7 in Riga, and 19 in Paris. For there to be even nine seats per thousand residents, it is necessary to build 40 theaters in Moscow.

[Question] What do you think about sponsorship as related to culture? Don't you see a danger for culture in sponsorship?

[Gubenko] It stands to reason that there will be a danger, but at the present stage, when it is still insufficiently developed, its benefit is obvious. At the entrance to any American theater or museum you can see a plaque with a list of all the sponsors and the amounts they have contributed to one measure or another. And if such enterprises will be found here in our country—and they will be found because finances which are not backed up by resources at the end of the year "leave" them, as a rule, certain sums which they are forced to return to the budget, and this could be precisely that source of financing culture that would place it on a good material and technical basis. But, for this, favorable conditions need to be established for our sponsors, so that these sums are not subject to taxation.

[Question] You once said: "To be minister of culture in our times, this..." What is this?

[Gubenko] This means to be a suicide.

[Question] Whom, among the ministers of culture of other countries, do you hold in high regard?

[Gubenko] Just three months ago, I did not even think about who was the minister of culture. I never stopped by this department because, crudely speaking, I didn't need anything from it. Now the situation has changed. During this time I have become acquainted with very interesting people, among them also ministers. In the future, I would like, first of all, to make use of the experience of France—in management, in organizational questions. I understand the absurdity of these hopes: Our levels are too different, our possibilities, but in principle the attitude itself in France toward culture would also be desirable for us.

[Question] When I watch television I get the impression that even in such popular programs for intellectuals as "Before and After Midnight," an ever increasing amount of vaudeville culture is being presented, of parapsychology, astrology. Am I right?

[Gubenko] You are right and I share your concern. I will say that, as minister of culture, I will hardly be able to exercise an influence on television, either now or in the near future. Mainly, I repeat, because of the lack of unity of the cultural departments. Our state television as a whole and in its entirety is in the hands of the state leadership and follows state policy. It is true that at a recent CPSU Central Committee plenum the chairman of USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, M. Nenashev, made the proposal to create an alternative television. Sooner or later, if the question of a multi-party system within our society is posed and resolved, we will surely come to this.

But I am in agreement with you—what I seen on the screen also does not suit me. There is in this sometimes an admixture, a desire to distract the people from serious reflection about life.

[Question] What is your attitude toward contracts with creative workers? Are there advantages to them?

[Gubenko] This is, by the way, a very difficult question. The system of contracts will quickly lead to unemployment in certain of our professions. Indeed, it must be confessed, that these are overfilled with mediocrities, and that there is little, very little talent, which no Gosplan, Council of Ministers, or Ministry of Finance can plan. It is therefore that there are so few good theaters and orchestras. I understand that such statements are not allowed, for me, as an official person, but as a professional I cannot remain silent. The contract makes it possible for the artistic manager to bring "fresh blood" into a collective, to attract young people, to move around the country. Such a system can produce a qualitative leap in art. But, up until now, the state has not found the means for social guarantees, for protection of the creative professions—and contracts are possible only in individual cases. But, all the same, we will come to this.

[Question] And what else have you not succeeded in doing?

[Gubenko] Many things. We have still not succeeded in getting the government to direct foreign currency earned by us toward our own development. The same thing can be said about rubles: Impersonalized deductions to the budget do not permit us to determine where our money is going. In the past we were content with such a situation, when we were subsidized by the state budget. Now, when the impoverished situation of culture is obvious, a leap in its development is needed. This is possible under one condition—together with the subsidies, all the money earned by us should be put into circulation for two-three years. I have asked that we be given both the authority and the privileges so that, within 5-7 years, we will reach a normal state of culture in the country. And this is only a hundredth part of the problems with which I have had to absorb myself.

[Question] What is the situation with the concert halls in the country? What is being done to save the Great Hall at the conservatory? To what extent has this question been studied?

[Gubenko] It has been studied, not by me but by all of my predecessors. The situation is very bad, and it is growing worse. Construction of new halls is not envisaged in the near future, and the "new construction" begun in all regions 10-20 years ago is falling into decay, is falling down before our eyes. Resources and machinery are insufficient. This is the situation. What to do about it? I am going around and demonstrating at all levels that if the attitude toward culture does not change we will have a nation that is incapable of competing with others. We will experience a gradual drop in its intellect... to the point of debility.

[Question] How realistic is the establishment in Moscow of a museum of contemporary art?

[Gubenko] The prospects are these: Everything depends upon the Ministry of Defense, which is totally unable to make up its mind to give us the complex of "provision storehouses"—this is their old name—located in the center of the capital, next to the Novosti press agency. This is an architectural and cultural monument built following a plan by the architect Stasov. An excellent location. And, to be sure, we will discover how to make good use of them. We will bring up from the reserves all the artists who so badly need viewers—Malevich, Kandinskiy, Chagal... And contemporaries, whose canvases tell about our lives in whatever language you may wish—avangardism, realism, naturalism... We know that this will require certain financial expenditures—7-8 million rubles, but indeed it is not a matter of these. I think that without your help the military will not give in to us. Therefore, I ask you to point the entire press to this theme—both the Soviet and that of the world, which you represent here. Let us fight together against the Ministry of Defense—tactfully but persistently. Perhaps we will win?

[Question] My question concerns artistic and historical monuments. What do you think, what route needs to be taken here: to rebuild, for example, the cathedral of Christ the Savior, which was destroyed during the years of Soviet power, or is it better to direct all efforts toward restoration of that which still remains?

[Gubenko] I want to say right off that during the years of Soviet power a large part of the monuments were destroyed not by it, but by the Civil and Great Fatherland wars. When some people try to profit from the impoverished situation of culture and shout from tribunes and at meetings: "What they did there was to destroy all of Soviet culture,"—I want to remind them both of the 1920's and of 1941-1945. Two bloody wars in which, besides millions of people, 90 percent of national cultural property was destroyed. To incriminate the CPSU and Soviet power for all this is prostitution and speculation of the moment. And also—a desire to earn points.

Nevertheless, today about 5000 of our monuments are perishing. Culture lacks money, technology and a material and restorative base. On the basis of approximate

calculations, if we proceed from the ideal, this demands an annual subsidy of 12 billion rubles. And the government's problem is to find these funds. A depressing answer, I confess. But if this is not done...

As regards the collection of funds to rebuild the destroyed monuments of the past, then I react cautiously to this. I do not want to offend people who are sacrificing their own hard-earned five and ten ruble notes, squeezing them out of the family budget. This is excellent, compassionate, in the traditions of our peoples. But it is not the Ministry of Culture that should decide how to make use of them, but they themselves.

[Question] What plans do you have for this year—creative and administrative? What kinds of problems will you have to solve as minister and what will you perform as an actor in the Theater on Taganek?

[Gubenko] I have already talked about this but I will briefly formulate my tasks once more: to rally the ranks of the intelligentsia, here, there and everywhere to struggle in common—in Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Finance... To direct our efforts toward the creation of a new law on culture, toward a search for sources of financing outside the budget. And from the point of view of programs—increased emphasis on the humanities in the school, the bringing of culture to the province, to the countryside. You cannot do this in a year of course. Well, and in the theater... I doubt that I will succeed in playing a new role this year—there is no time, but I will act with pleasure in old performances.

[Question] How do you succeed in overcoming weakness and feebleness, if you are visited by them?

[Gubenko] In fact, they do visit me, moreover every day. In the evening I leave here with a single desire—to end my career as a minister. And in the morning I wake up and think: "Well, o.k. I will leave, and someone else will come; but suppose that he will be a little more lazy or less friendly toward people active in culture, without the desire to do something for the country? Or will turn out to be a cold functionary?" And, by eight o'clock in the morning, I am already ready to work, convinced that I will be able to do something. Then I come home, watch the "Vremya" t.v. program, see what is going on in the country and... I want to go to sleep somewhat quicker. In the morning, everything begins all over.

I would like to say to you that my appointment to this post was a total surprise for me. I was living like a normal person, loved my work—I am a director, and was writing scenarios for my own films and was engaged in the acting profession in order to stay in shape. And suddenly they offer me the position of minister. I cannot understand why this happened. I lacked of all family and professionally corrupting ties. My father went off to war on the front and was killed when I had not yet been born. My mother disappeared when I was eleven months old... Why did the choice fall on me? In my opinion, the Supreme Soviet simply found itself in a dead end—for a year the country had been without a minister of culture.

Somebody evidently proposed putting me in this position and the parliament quickly voted for this idea. They threw N.N. Gubenko into the soup like a chicken—and so I am wallowing here. But for the time-being I am holding out.

7th RSFSR Writers' Union Plenum Documents

Address to 'Nationalities of Russia'

90UN1355A Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian No 12, 23 Mar 90 p 2

[Appeal by the participants in the Seventh Plenum of the Board of the RSFSR Writers' Union: "To the People's of Russia"]

[Text] Brothers and sisters! Dear people of Russia! The fatherland is experiencing hard days.

Never before has our country found itself in such a degrading state of turmoil; discord among nationalities; economic instability; criminal mafia-like bargaining over historical territories, natural resources and items of cultural value; and unprecedented schism among lands and peoples. Our fathers and grandfathers left us a great homeland, great culture and literature, and an army strong of spirit. Our homeland has been tormented, humiliated and weakened by destructive actions and decisions. Our hand has been desecrated, defiled, befouled and cast to the wind.

Our glorious army is now being driven into rebellious auls and cities—to pacify, suppress and intimidate. It is being put forward as the gendarme of peoples. Our beloved army, our invincible army that crushed Hitlerite Germany is being driven from the memory of generations like a homeless orphan.

Why has such an unjust lot befallen our long-suffering, multilingual people?! Isn't it the people that raised near and far outlying areas from poverty and destitution?! Isn't it the people that fed the starving peoples with a generous hand, taking from its own children?! Isn't it the people that unified previously disunited peoples and tribes?! Wasn't it the backbone of the great Victory of peoples that saved the world from fascism?! For many years sacred gratitude for Russia's countless sacrifices warmed the hearts of billions of the planet's people.

Russia raised the fraternal peoples and the world on the shoulders of its multinational working class, peasantry and intelligentsia. However, it is precisely them, the country's rank-and-file workers, who are today being called the "slaves of socialism," "loafers," "blockheads" and even "fascists" by those who do not disdain to feed themselves from their calloused and merciful hands.

The party today is being subjected to equally merciless criticism, and a strictly coordinated attack is being conducted with the aim of splitting it and destroying it.

The writers of Russia support the establishment of their own independent Communist Party of Russia.

In this critical hour the hope of peoples is turned again to Russia and to its sons and daughters who are capable of reviving the unified, multinational fatherland.

Today, when the tranquility of peoples, the foundation of creation and progress, has been exploded by aggressive forces, it is the task of Russia, its multinational peoples, its creative intelligentsia, working class and peasantry, our young people, and all believing and true patriots to undertake the task of reviving Russia, its oblasts, krays and republics. Only self-sacrificial work, only persistent and daily labor, will strengthen the country. Only honest, conscientious, talented and courageous people are capable today of deciding our destiny and saving the fatherland. The way must be opened to these people, and the country entrusted to them, to patriots.

People of Russia! No one but us can block the way to the grasping experimenters, the untalented innovators, and the preachers of instability and discord.

Only cohesiveness and unity, work and order, wisdom, calm and energy will revive Russia.

Russia was and is! Russia will be, if its revival becomes the patriotic duty of every citizen of Russia.

Letter to Gorbachev on Solzhenitsyn

90UN1355A Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian No 12, 23 Mar 90 p 2

[Letter from the Seventh Plenum of the Board of the RSFSR Writers' Union to M. S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR]

[Text] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich!

The Plenum of the Board of the RSFSR Writers' Union deems it necessary to restore historic justice and immediately return USSR citizenship to the great Russian writer Aleksandr Isayevich Solzhenitsyn, who has never severed his spiritual ties with his homeland.

20 March 1990

Letter to Lukyanov on Ananyev

90UN1355A Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian No 12, 23 Mar 90 p 2

[Letter from the Seventh Plenum of Board of the RSFSR Writers' Union to A. I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Esteemed Anatoliy Ivanovich!

The Plenum of the Board of the RSFSR Writers' Union deems it necessary to again raise to you the question of removing A. A. Ananyev from his position.

A. A. Ananyev has conducted himself in a defiant and immoral way, which discredits him as an editor, writer and deputy.

Participants in the plenum regard such a position on the part of the Presidium as a political trick and flagrant disregard for the opinion of Russia's writers and our creative union.

We insist on the immediate resolution of this question at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

20 March 1990

Letter to Ryzhkov on RSFSR Publishing

90UN1355A Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian No 12, 23 Mar 90 p 2

[Letter from the Seventh Plenum of the Board of the RSFSR Writers' Union to N. I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] Esteemed Nikolay Ivanovich!

Despite our repeated appeals to you, annual allocations of paper for Russia's publishing houses have been reduced by more than 30 percent. Participants in the Seventh Plenum of the Board of the RSFSR Writers' Union, after discussing the critical state of affairs in the publishing business, protest to the union government and demand the immediate restoration of the paper allocations designated for Russia.

20 March 1990

New Uzbek Higher Education Minister Interviewed

90UN1100A Tashkent SELSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 15 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with Shavkat Arifdzhonovich Alimov, Uzbek SSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education, conducted by B. Khasanov, UzTAG correspondent: "Timely Interview: Focus on the Student"]

[Excerpt] Our republic's Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education has recently been reestablished. What will it be like? Will it produce the same form and content in its work, or will the reborn ministry take completely different paths of renewal? UzTAG correspondent B. Khasanov discussed these questions with Sh.A. Alimov, Uzbek SSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education.

[Correspondent] Shavkat Arifdzhonovich, you are quite well known in VUZ circles. Nonetheless I would like for you to tell a bit about yourself.

[Alimov] I graduated from a school in Tashkent and then went on to study in the Physics Department of Moscow University. I also did my graduate work there. In 1970 I defended my candidate's dissertation, and in 1973 my doctoral dissertation. Until 1984 I was employed as a professor in the Computation Mathematics Department of Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov, then I moved to Tashkent, teaching at Tashkent State University and later working as deputy director of the

Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Mathematics. In 1985 I was appointed rector of Samarkand State University, then two years later I was appointed rector of Tashkent State University, where I served until just recently.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion of the division of the republic Ministry of Public Education and reestablishment of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education?

[Alimov] I feel that the main objective of this division was to focus more attention on students and their problems. The reestablishment of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education by no means signals a return to old ways. For example, our apparatus is now only half the size it was before, just 50 people altogether. And that means that greater rights have been granted to educational institutions: they are now in charge of coordination, consultation and assistance in regard to material-technical matters and capital construction. Our intention is for them to place their primary reliance in their work on various public organizations. For instance, we have regional rectors' councils—organizations of this type should be created in our ministry as well.

Our attitude toward the overall development of the network of higher and specialized secondary educational institutions in our republic should be a fundamentally new one. How will this be expressed? Well, for example, we have weak institutes and tekhnikums. In order to eliminate these weak points two routes have been proposed: either to close these institutions, or to strengthen them and grant broader rights to their collectives. In cases of this nature we will opt for the latter approach.

We will strive to open new institutes and tekhnikums primarily in the oblasts. This seems fundamentally important to me, for the establishment of a new institute or tekhnikum in each oblast is a major event. One that will undoubtedly foster the overall development of education in our republic, help advance science and permit specialists to study while remaining in direct contact with enterprises. [passage omitted]

Pro-Life Lithuanians Issue Appeal

90UN1233C Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
3 Mar 90 p 3

[Address by Cardinal V. Sladkyavichyus et al.: "Appeal to the Nation"]

[Text] Abortion was legalized in the Soviet Union 34 years ago. This law, of which the Lithuanian nation has had its fill, is an encroachment upon man's sacred right to life and a legal sanction of violence against a most innocent and defenseless creature. Taking a life before birth irretrievably strips away the sanctity of motherhood. The hundreds of thousands who have not lived to be born in Lithuania are victims of a most terrible genocide carried out at the wish of the mothers. Of

mothers who by definition should love, guard, and preserve every living thing. By dooming to destruction that which was accepted for thousands of years as a gift from God, the parents violate fundamental laws of nature and the world.

There is no true renaissance or true culture if the life of a person is not protected. Justice demands that there be laws to defend it. Today's laws forbid murder, but they allow abortion, which is nothing more than that same crime of murder but even more cruel because the helpless, newly begun life of a human being is destroyed. Modern medicine and biology do not make any distinction between the born and the unborn. The human conscience also testifies to this.

It is a paradox, but the unborn are killed in medical institutions where a struggle should be waged in favor of each second of human life. Trampled underfoot are the Hippocratic oath and God's commandment—DO NOT KILL!

The so-called "woman's right to self-determination" and to planning a family on the basis of economic and social position is nothing more than egoism and disregard for the sanctity of love. They pay for their "wellbeing" and imaginary freedom with the life of an infant. In reality abortion is accompanied by spiritual degradation and the degeneration of the family. Such a family destroys the foundations of the nation.

The unborn appeal for your help because the condemnation of the parents deprives them of the right to life. The Constitution must clearly state: "Give Lithuania the opportunity to be born." Laws concerning citizenship, language, or anything else will not help if the basic right of a person—the right to life—is not protected. We will disappear, both physically and spiritually, if we refuse the gift of God—life.

Today we demand that the law protect unborn life too. Of course a law condemning abortion will not change the essence of the matter. At best it is only an artificial obstacle on a slippery slope. Just think: The law must protect unborn life from the mother and the doctor, from those who by their nature and profession are obliged to nurture and preserve that life!

The most sacred thing on earth—life—has been deprived of sense and dignity. Even though a law would call things by their true names, it would still be up to us to pull ourselves from this ruinous swamp. Although the Church has always protected unborn life, many people have nonetheless been led into error by a materialist outlook and by a medical science that has yielded to this outlook and affirms that a conceived life is only a fetus going through all the stages of evolutionary development.

The newest achievements of technology, which permit one to see and record on film the child in the mother's womb, have confirmed the Church's position. They have confirmed that from the very moment of conception the infant not only has human organs which carry out functions that will not change but that he is indeed a human, just a small one. Even the infant's senses are formed during the pregnancy. A five-week-old child already has the sense of touch. Hearing and the other senses will appear later. Modern medicine says that the whole family should associate with the unborn child as with their new member.

A new perception of the world is growing. Previously unknown secrets of life are being revealed. However, scholars and physicians are slow to inform the public about them. It seems that truth, honor, and the fate of people mutilated by the destruction of unborn life are not important to science. Only the Church can be fully depended upon, and as a result we expect statements from it on this problem that is so especially painful for our nation. We will form a new view of man as a spiritual being from the very beginning.

Therefore we call all our fellow countrymen and all renewed organizations to a holy struggle—a struggle for life, for true Motherhood. And let it take place on a moral, social, and political plane. We will nurture honesty and sincere love for the family. We will awaken the responsibility and conscience of physicians, whose first duty is to save each human being. We affirm an immutable law in society: A conceived life and the life of the mother are equivalent. We will demand that the law unambiguously condemn abortion as a crime against man.

[Signed] Cardinal V. Sladkyavichyus; Archbishop Y. Steponavichyus; Bishop A. Vaychys; Bishop Y. Preykshas; Bishop Y. Zhyamaytis; Bishop Yu. Matulaytis; Bishop Vl. Mikhelyavichyus; Yu. Urbshis, Lithuanian minister of foreign affairs; Father S. Tamkyavichyus; Father Y.K. Matulenis; Father K. Ambrasas; Monsignor K. Vasilyauskas; Father Y. Boruta; Father D. Valyukenas; Father V. Yalinskas; Father E. Bartulis; Father V. Alyulis; Professor A. Martsinkyavichyus; Professor G. Uzhdavinis; Professor V. Sirvidis; Professor Y. Puzelyunas; Ya. Belyauskene; A. Kuchinskayte; A. Puyshite-Grigalyunene; M. Yuozaytis; Father Y. Lauryunas; V. Yasukaytite; A. Zharskus; Professor Ch. Kudaba; Professor A. Paulauskene; Professor G. Chesnis; A. Vinkus, minister of public health; Professor P. Kuris, minister of justice; Kr. Stoshkus; A. Payarskayte; D. Rashkinene; I. Simutene; A. Narvilene; Dr. R. Rimantene; E. Kubileae; V. Bagdanavichyus; D. Studayte; Yu. Tulyavichene; Dr. A. Zhigas; L. Kondrotas; E. Klumbis; A. Pochyulpayte; Yu. Gruodis; B. Yonushkayte-Sugustinene; D. Petrutite; R. Preyksha; D. Stakishaytis; and G. Vitkus.

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